PALESTINE EXPLORATION QUARTERLY

Embodying the *Quarterly Statement* of the Palestine Exploration Fund and the *Bulletin* of the British School of Archæology in Jerusalem

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THE PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND

NOTES AND NEWS

The Dead Sea Scrolls, as they will probably continue to be called, still occupy the centre of the stage. We have been assured by some eminent scholars that they will bring about a revolution in our conceptions of the origins of Christianity. Meanwhile books and monographs multiply so rapidly that a list of them already fills a book. Professor Solomon Zeitlin occupies fifty pages of his own journal with a renewed attack on the authenticity of the documents. The latest development is the announcement by Professor Avigad of the unrolling of the last of the four scrolls which were taken to the United States in 1948 by the Metropolitan of the Monastery of St. Mark in Jerusalem. This scroll had been labelled " the Book of Lamech " by the first American scholars who handled it, but, as the result of its unrolling, it now appears that it is a kind of midrashic commentary in Aramaic on the book of Genesis, somewhat after the style of the Book of Jubilees. The style resembles that of the book of Daniel. The script is similar to that of the scroll of *The War of the Sons of Light against the Sons of Darkness*, and the date of the scroll, *pace* Dr. Zeitlin, is provisionally set between the 1st century B.C. and the 1st century A.D. As much of the scroll as is complete will be published in due course by Professor Avigad and Dr. Yadin. All the scrolls are now united in the possession of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem.

The sixth volume of the *Mission de Ras Shamra* has now been published under the skilled editorship of Professor Schaeffer. It is the third instalment of the report of the excavation of the royal palace at Ras Shamra, and it contains the Accadian and Hurrian texts discovered in the east, west, and central archives of the palace. This extremely interesting and important material has been edited by Professor Nougayrol, with special studies by MM. Boyer and Laroche dealing with applied law in Phoenicia in the 2nd millennium B.C., and the Hurrian and Hittite texts, respectively. The new material, so admirably edited by Professor Nougayrol, throws a flood of light on the social conditions existing in this part of the Near East during the time when the Hebrew people were beginning to settle in Canaan. Much interesting light is also thrown on the position and prerogatives of the king at this time. It is clear that the archaeological and historical riches of Ugarit are far from being exhausted.

In *Syria*, vol. XXXII, fasc. 1–2, Professor Parrot, the excavator of Mari, calls the attention of archaeologists and collectors to an unfortunate incident which has evidently caused him no little distress. In the *Illustrated London News* of Sept. 16, 1955, there appeared the photograph of a statue said to have come from Mari, and to have been recently acquired by Kansas City Museum. By comparison with the photographs published in *Syria*, vol. XVI, 1935, the figure would appear to be that of Lamgi-Mari, king of Mari. But the same comparison, available in the current issue of *Syria*, where M. Parrot has published the two figures side by side, suggests forcibly that the figure of which the photograph was published in the *London Illustrated News* is, to say the least, of doubtful antecedents. Forgery is no new experience for archaeologists, and M. Parrot seems to have discovered the existence of a " *véritable fabrique* " of forged statues, and concludes by saying, " it is high time to put an end to this traffic." All field archaeologists will wish him success in his endeavour.

In the *Biblical Archaeologist* for February, 1956, Dr. Yigal Yadin gives a summary account of the very important excavations which an Israeli expedition has been recently carrying on in Galilee on the site of the ancient Canaanite city of Hazor. The results of the first campaign have important bearings on the still vexed question of the date of Israel's conquest of Palestine. Some of the earlier conclusions about Hazor have already been shown to be in need of revision, and it is clear that the further excavation of the site will be extremely fruitful. Dr. Yadin thus sums up the results of the first season's work: " The one important conclusion that one can draw from the fact that the whole area of the enclosure was nothing but a real city, is that during the Middle and Late Bronze priods, Hazor was indeed one of the greatest cities in Canaan, and with its estimated 40,000 population deserved rightly the definition given to it in the book of Joshua: ' For Hazor beforetime was the head of all those kingdoms.' "

In the same connection it may be recorded that General Yadin gave the first of the very successful series of public lectures on Biblical archaeology organized by Miss Olga Tufnell and delivered at the Rooms of the Palestine Exploration Fund last year. His subject was the excavation of Hazor. Other distinguished archaeologists also gave lectures, among whom were Sir Leonard Woolley and Mr. G. M. FitzGerald, both of whose lectures are published in this issue of the *Quarterly*. The attendance showed how lively an interest exists in the subject of Biblical archaeology.

In a lecture to the British Academy delivered by Mr. D. J. Wiseman on January 22nd of this year, the lecturer made known the existence of contemporary documents throwing fresh light on the capture of Jerusalem by Nebuchadrezzar and on the history of that period. The tablets referred

to belong to the class of documents known as " The Babylonian Chronicle ". They give a yearly account of the events of Babylonian history between 626–594 B.C., with a break of six years. The capture of Jerusalem referred to is the earlier one, in 597 B.C.

A warm welcome must be accorded to the first number of a new journal which fills a long-felt gap in the list of British scientific periodicals. It is called the *Journal of Semitic Studies*, and appears under the able editorship of Professor H. H. Rowley and Mr. P. R. Weis. The first issue contains articles by various well-known scholars. Professor O. Eissfeldt contributes an interesting article on *El and Yahweh*; Professor L. Koehler writes on *Problems in the Study of the Language of the Old Testament*; David Daube and Reuven Yaron contribute a suggestive study of *Jacob's Reception by Laban*. There is a long list of important reviews. On the title page appears the note, " supported by the Isaac Wolfson Foundation ", a fact which explains the remarkably low price at which the journal is published, 32*s*. per annum for four quarterly issues of 96 pages each. We wish the new journal every success.

Archaeologists have found themselves puzzled by a curious phenomenon observed in the voluminous correspondence found in the royal archives at Mari. This is the complete absence of any mention of Egypt in the 540 letters published by M. Dossin in the five volumes of *Archives royales de Mari*. Professor Albrecht Alt examines this problem in a very interesting article in the *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, bd. 70, hft. 2. He believes that in the 80 letters comprising the correspondence between the high official Baḥdi-Lim and his royal master Zimri-Lim, edited by Professor Kupper, there appear direct or indirect references to relations between Mari and Egypt. The point arises in connection with diplomatic exchanges between Mari and various city states in Phoenicia and Palestine. One of these mentioned in Baḥdi-Lim's letters is Hazor, and Professor Alt suggests that during the Hyksos regime, Hazor had become a kind of intermediary between the northern system of diplomatic relations, and the southern, of which Egypt was the centre. The subject is discussed with Professor Alt's usual stimulating and wide-ranging scholarship.

In the *Revue Biblique* for January, 1956, two important articles appear dealing with the Qumran documents. One is by Dr. F. J. Cross, Jnr., putting forward a fresh view on the much-discussed letter of Simon ben-Kosba (or Bar-Cochba). The other is a long and informative account of the present position of Qumran studies, with the names of the scholars who have been entrusted with various collections of the Qumran material. It is reassuring to know that all the Qumran material, whether bought from Arabs, or found by archaeologists in the various caves explored, is now in the possession of

the Palestinian Archaeological Museum in Jerusalem, where it is to be studied and published; the only exception is in the case of some fragments which have found their way into the hands of private individuals, who are urged by the official editors to send photographs of such fragments to those responsible for the publishing of the whole material. The article contains a brief report from each member of the editorial group concerning the portion of the material assigned to them, and the state of their researches. The extremely fragmentary state of most of the documentary material makes the task of the editors very difficult, and the following passage from the article in question is a vivid commentary on the nature of their task: " When it is a question of Biblical books, recognition is comparatively easy; it is a very different matter when non-biblical documents are in question, for which there are no good concordances, which are imperfectly known, or only known through the medium of versions, or of which only the title is known, or even totally unknown. Under such circumstances the research worker must possess a competent working knowledge of this type of literature, as well as an inventive ' flair ', and unlimited patience."

The British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem badly needs the following periodical parts which were lost in the post between England and Jerusalem:—

Antiquity, nos. 86–100; 103–104; 106–108; 111–112.

Iraq, vols. IX/1; X–XIV; both supplements.

Journal of Hellenic Studies, vols. 64–71.

Revue Biblique, vols. 49/3–4; 57; 59/4; 60/1.

Perhaps members have copies of the numbers which they do not require, and any of the parts would be most gratefully appreciated.

ROCK ENGRAVINGS FROM THE JEBEL IDEID
(Southern Negev)

By Emmanuel Anati

In January, 1955, the author was kindly informed by Mr. J. Feldman of Revivim and Mr. T. Vardi of Kibbutz Tsuba, that during a trip in the Southern Negev, they had come across some rock engravings in the Jebel Ideid[1]. They photographed some of the drawings, and were good enough to let us have these photographs. One of these depicts a hunting scene, while the rest show various drawings belonging, on the whole, to Thamudic-Nabataean style IV[2].

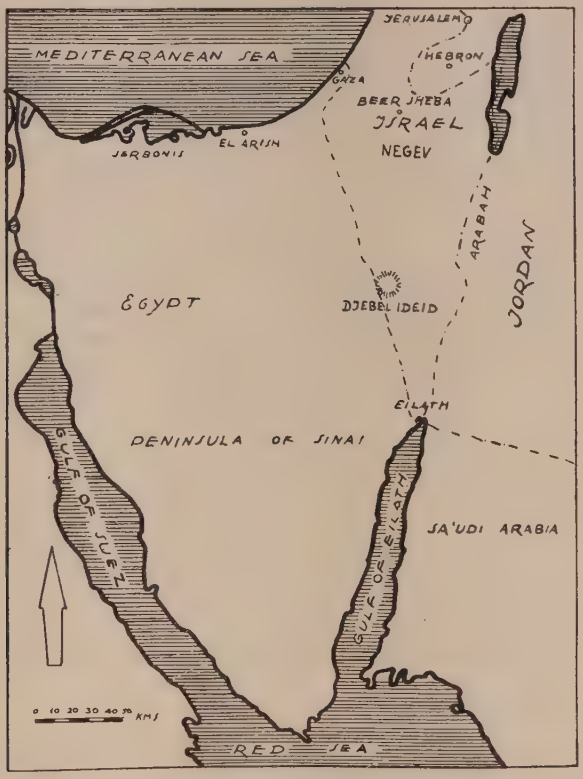


Fig. 1

[1] The author is indebted to Mr. S. Yeivin, Director of Antiquities in Israel, for his kind permission to publish this paper in the P.E.Q. He also wishes to thank here Prof. Breuil, Prof. Ryckmans, Prof. P. Graziosi and Prof. L. A. Mayer for their kind advice.

[2] See previous reports on the engravings of the Central Negev in: BIES XVIII (1954) 2–3, pp. 245–254; Archaeology 8 (1955), 1, pp. 31–42; P.E.Q. 1955, 1, pp. 49–57; BSPF, Tome LII (1955), 11–12, pp. 722–728.

The matter seemed worthy of further investigation, and accordingly a research party was organized to Jebel Ideid in the second half of February, 1955, on behalf of the Israel Department of Antiquities. Mr. Feldman was the guide of the party, which included, besides the author, Mr. B. Kedem, Mr. Ben-Hur, Miss E. Yeivin, and various members of collective farms in the Negev.

A survey of the mountain revealed ten groups of drawings, which were inserted in the survey maps, under the numbers 60 to 69. Here also, as in the Central Negev, the drawings were engraved on detrite limestone, covered with a very dark desert patina[1].

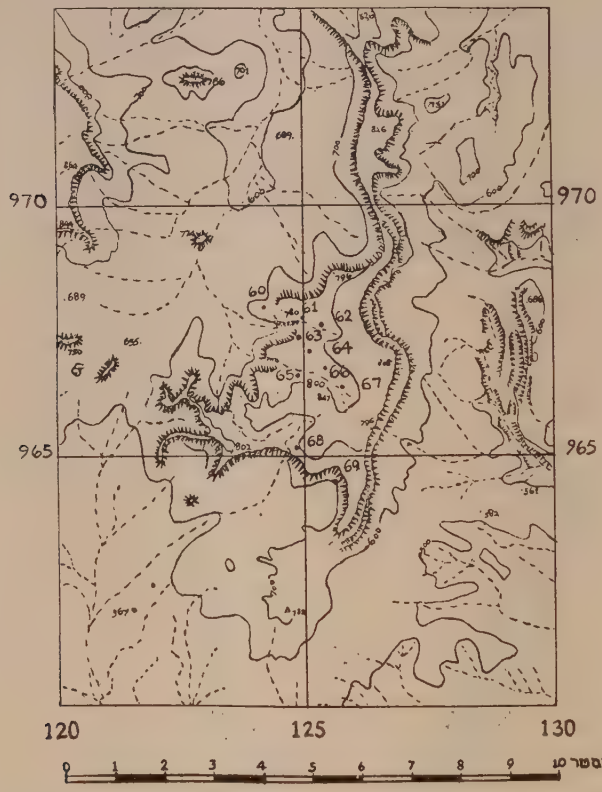


Fig. 2

Description of the Groups

Group 60. (Map ref. 9680–1242) Twelve rocks with engravings, the majority of which belong to the schematic style IV. The patination of these engravings is light-brown. On the same stones are found also several tribe-marks covered by a much lighter yellowish patina, which are probably quite recent. The subjects of style IV are the same here as in the Central Negev—reproductions of animals and schematic human figures[2]. Here too, the animal most often reproduced is the antelope (more than twenty examples). A

[1] Cf. P.E.Q., 1955, 1, p. 50

[2] Cf. op. cit. fig. 5

dog is also found. On one stone are several camels drawn in a linear, schematic way, with exaggerated humps. They have a patina lighter than the other drawings and most probably belong to style IV (Arabic)[1].

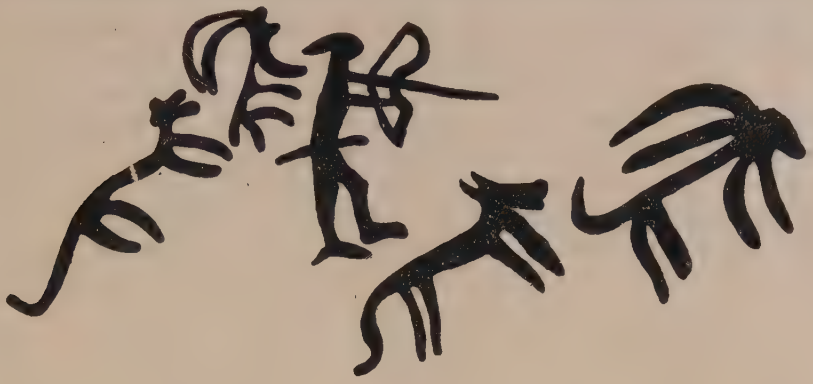


Fig. 3.

Group 61. (Map ref. 9678–1269) A smooth rock on which is drawn a hunting scene (fig. 3, pl. II A.). The size of the engraving is about 40 by 30 cm. In the centre stands a man armed with a bow and a sword, the latter being attached to the belt. This detail is seldom found in the Central Negev engravings, whereas in the Jebel Ideid it is quite common. Here the bow does not appear inverted, as in the hunting scene of style III, near Abdeh[2]. The bow is of the double-flexed type, and is reproduced in quite a realistic manner. The human figure is stylized and fairly schematic: on both its sides appears a dog pursuing an antelope, a subject very common among the rock-engravings of the Negev. The antelopes are drawn in a single-lined, schematic way which is characteristic of style IV. The dogs have elongated tails with an upturned end. The same type of dog appears in group 7c in the Central Negev, in connection with a Thamudic inscription. The scene belongs quite clearly to style IV, and probably to an early stage of this style[3].

[1] In previous works the author believed style VI to belong to the Early Arabic period. Recent finds have established that this style is found during the entire Arab period. Prof. L. A. Mayer thinks that some of the newly found inscriptions could also be quite recent.

[2] P.E.Q., 1955, 1, pl. IV

[3] In previous works we tentatively proposed to date style IV between the third cent. B.C.E. and the third cent. C.E. Meanwhile we have been able to distinguish several stages in this style, and its duration seems to be much longer. Prof. Ryckmans kindly informed us that in Southern Arabia a very similar style appears already " with the most ancient inscriptions, and even before ". It seems therefore that it existed there all through the Iron Age. A schematic figure of a man which could be classed in the same style appears with an archaic inscription recently published by Prof. Jamme (BASOR 137, p. 33). In Arabia, as well as in Trans-Jordan, this style ends before the date previously established for the Negev and is replaced by very elegant drawings with a fine tracing, and men with long hair (Geographical Magazine, July, 1954, p. 134; ADAJ II, pl. VI, etc.). In the view of these fresh evidences, it may well be that new dates should be proposed for this style also in the Negev. Before this can be done, however, the Thamudic inscriptions must be studied and published.

Group 62. (Map. ref. 9677–1254) Eight rocks on which appear engravings, most of which are in style IV. Here too, the antelope is the most common subject, and we find again a dog pursing an antelope, and an archer.

Group 63. (Map. ref. 9675–1248) Three rocks with engravings in style IV, mostly antelopes. Also a man aiming his bow at an antelope.

Group 64. (Map. ref. 9670–1250) Twenty engraved stones. The stones are very small in this group, and some of them can even be lifted by a single man. Most of the drawings are in style IV and some in styles VI and VII. Apart from the usual antelopes, a strange picture appears of a schematic man with an exaggerated sexual organ (Fig. 4). The picture is surrounded by an egg-shaped frame. On one of the rocks appear drawings in the three above-mentioned styles, each style having a differently coloured patina. Style IV is covered here by a brown pinkish patina, style VI a clear pink, and style VI a yellowish patina.

It is interesting to observe that near this group, there are other stones on which nothing is engraved. From this we may perhaps conclude that lack of space is not the reason which made the artists of various periods engrave over and over again on the same surface; they must have repeated intentionally the engravings over earlier ones. This phenomenon occurs frequently also in the Central Negev.

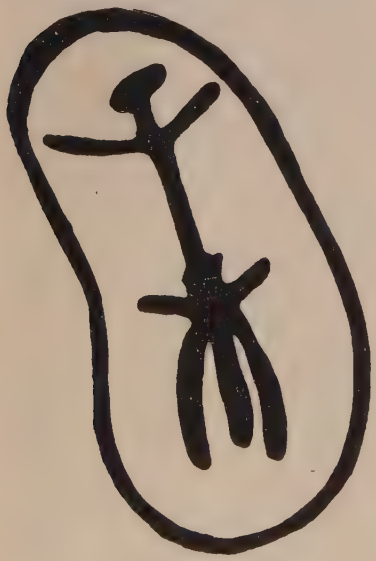


Fig. 4.

Fig. 5.

On a rock of this group appear some *wassum* with a light patina and apparently quite recent. The tribe-marks are arranged in one horizontal line, and, at first sight, make the impression of an inscription. Similar instances occur also in the Central Negev, and since the *wassum* have

the shape of early semitic letters, one may be misled. Occasionally the question may even arise, whether these might not be an attempt by modern analphabet Bedouins to imitate ancient inscriptions, which they see engraved on the nearby rocks.

Group 65. (Map. ref. 9666–1249) Seven engraved rocks. Nearby fences and sheep-pens, built of field-stones. No pottery was discovered here. On one of the rocks were found three layers of engravings, each layer with a different patina colour. The bottom drawing depicts a hunting scene: a man using a bow, a dog, and two antelopes (Fig. 5, Pl. II, B.).

The patination of this scene is very dark, and no difference can be seen between the patination and the rock surface itself. In a later period an engraving of a dog running after an antelope was superimposed on this scene. This engraving is in the schematic, linear style IV and it is accompanied by a Thamudic inscription. The reddish-brown patina of this engraving and inscription is much lighter. In a third period a second inscription was engraved on the same stone, this time in Arabic characters, and it is covered by a light orange patina. On this rock the difference between the patination of the various periods is considerable, thus indicating that a certain distance in time must have existed between the hunting scene and the Thamudic inscription.

The hunting scene is engraved in a very realistic way. Spaces are here filled in the way typical of style III. The dog and antelopes resemble those in the hunting scene found near Abdeh (cf. note 6). The human figure is given a simple form, the lines being sometimes rounded. The head and legs are disproportionately small, and the two hands hold a double-flexed bow. A striking similarity can be found between this man and some human figures found in Upper Egypt, and classed by Winkler in his group "Autochthonous Mountain Dwellers" (fig. 6)[1].

Fig. 6 (*left*)

Fig. 7 (*right*)

[1] H. A. Winkler, Rock-Drawings of Southern Upper-Egypt, London, 1938, I, pl. XVIII, etc.

As already stated[1], striking similarities are to be found between style III from the Negev, and some engravings well known from North Africa. The comparison between figs. 7 and 8, shows, for instance, the similarity between the Abdeh hunting scene and a hunting scene found by Rhotert in the Libyan Desert[2]. Professor Graziosi, who studies this art in Libya, writes us that he believes these similarities " might also not be accidental "[3]. The Abbé Breuil writes us about style III that it reminds him of the " Spanish Sub-Naturalist art from the Neo-Eneolithic period "[4].

Fig. 8.

The problem arises, whether these similarities should be interpreted as a hint of contact between the ancient nomadic tribes of North Africa and Western Asia or just as the consequence of similar economic, social and geographic conditions. It is quite probable that style III represents a population which lived according to a way of life resembling that existing in Spain and North Africa during the period when similar engravings were made there. Nevertheless, it seems to us that this argument is inconclusive for the time being with regard to the date of this style in the Negev[5]. As the patination of the engravings belonging to this style shows clear differences, we are not even sure that all the engravings belonging to this style are of one restricted period.

On the other rocks of this group appear subjects common in style IV and VI. Among the engravings belonging to style VI, the great number of camels is noteworthy.

[1] P.E.Q., 1955, 1, p. 52, note 6.

[2] H. Rhotert, Libysche Felsbilder, 1952, Taf. XXVIII, 4.

[3] Letter dated November 26, 1954.

[4] Letter dated February 22, 1955.

[5] It should also be added that nothing certain is known, at present, as to the date of this style in North Africa and in Spain.

Group 66. (Map. ref. 9668–1253) Four engraved rocks. One shows a hunting scene of a man with bow, two antelopes and four dogs (Fig. 9, Pl. I). This scene is full of movement. The man is running, the dogs are attacking the antelopes from all sides, and the two antelopes charge one against the other. The man is dressed in a short skirt and to his belt is probably attached a sword. He carries a double-flexed bow in his two hands. The dogs have long curved tails, and are engraved in a fairly schematic manner. The antelopes appear in a very similar way in group 1 in Wadi Ramliyeh, in the Central Negev. There they are overlaid by other drawings belonging to style V. (Roman-Byzantine)

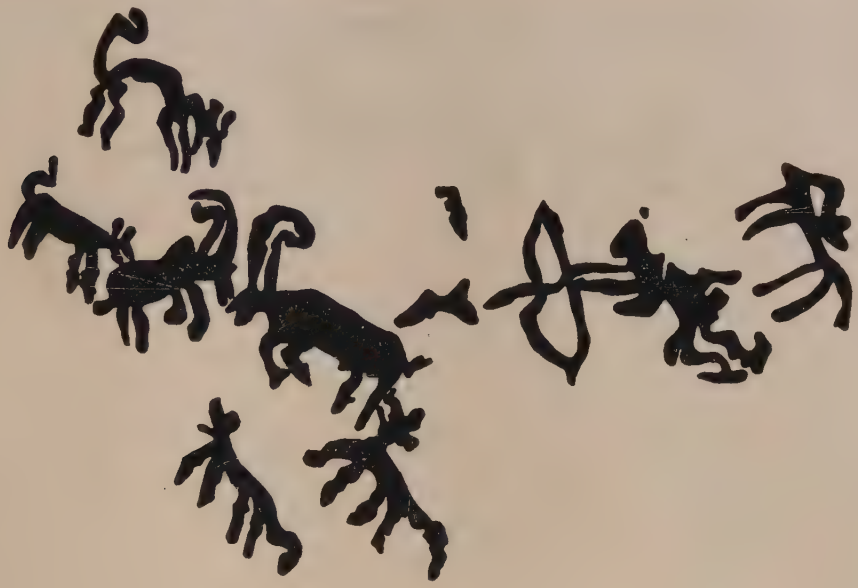


Fig. 9.

The general character of this scene might seem, at first, to belong to style III; but several elements arouse doubts about such a classification. First of all, both the dogs and the antelopes are drawn in a much more primitive and schematic way than those usual in style III. Secondly, the man, though drawn in quite a realistic way, wears a type of dress as yet unknown among drawings of style III but very common in several drawings belonging to styles IV and V. Moreover, the sword, which has not yet been found in drawings of style III, appears here. We have, therefore, refrained from attributing it to any one style. It is also noteworthy that the patination of this drawing, which is pinkish, is much lighter than that of the hunting scene of group 65, and suggests a much later date for this engraving.

Upon the other rocks of this group appear very schematic engravings, mostly belonging to the Thamudic-Nabataean style IV. Under the group, in the wadi, is a sheep-pen.

Group 67. (Map. ref. 9664–1257) Nine engraved rocks. On one of them appears a scene of a man holding an antelope by the antlers, while another man fires his bow at it (fig. 10, Pl. III, A.). The style of this scene, clearly enough, is the schematic style IV. Further evidence is furnished by a Thamudic inscription which accompanies the engravings. Attached to the belts of the men are long swords. The bow is of the single-flexed type. The antelope is linear, and is drawn in a very schematic way. It is not improbable that the artist who drew this strange scene had a certain amount of sense of humour.

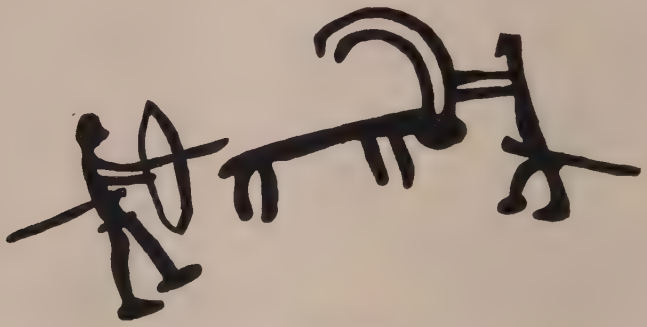


Fig. 10.

During later times some of the original lines have been re-engraved, and a tribe-mark has been added. This case is quite common, and is also found in the Central Negev. As explained by a local Bedu, the aim of engraving *wassum* upon an ancient picture is to affirm the possession of the picture by the clan or the tribe to whom the *wassm* belongs; it is done quite frequently by shepherds who happen to pass by.

Upon the other rocks of this group are found schematic engravings belonging to style IV. They are generally antelopes, dogs and very stylized human figures of common types (cf. note 3).

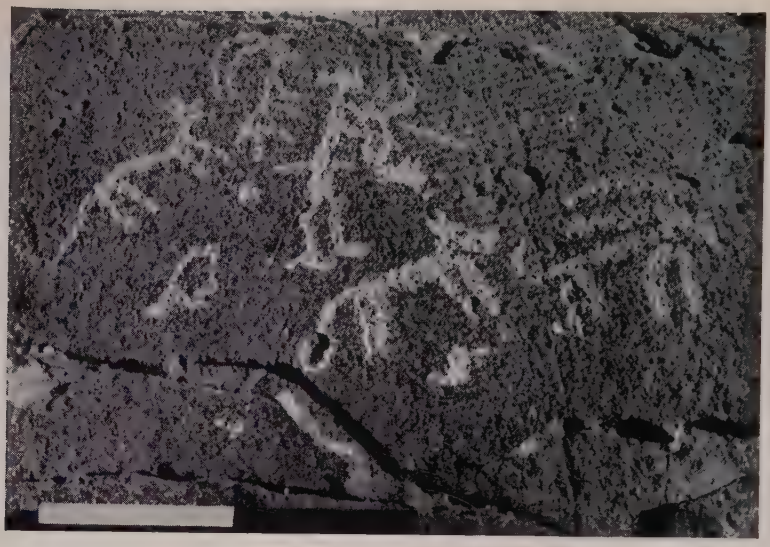
Group 68. (Map. ref. 9652–1248) Three rocks with very crude and abstract drawings belonging to style VI. In the wadi are several sheep-pens and enclosures.

Group 69. (Map. ref. 9646–1256) Four rocks engraved with a pattern very similar to the previous group. Near them are enclosures and sheep-pens.

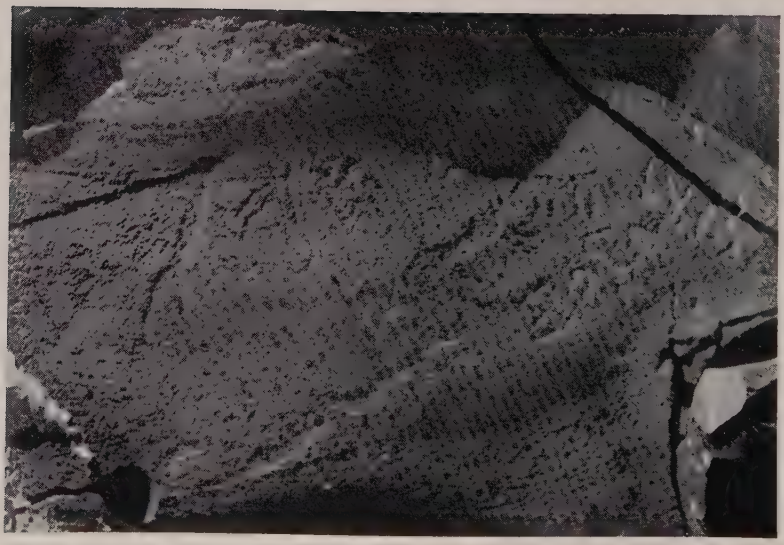
The great majority of the rock engravings found in the Jebel Ideid belong to the Thamudic-Nabataean style IV. Style VI is also represented in several groups, and modern *wassum* are found as well. One hunting scene of the realistic style III was also found. Apart from this, no engravings have been found which could be classed in either styles I, II or V.

Particularly interesting is the fact that style V, which is one of the most richly represented in the Central Negev, was not found here at all. Previously this style was always found near ancient settlements and cultivated

Hunting scene from Group 66.

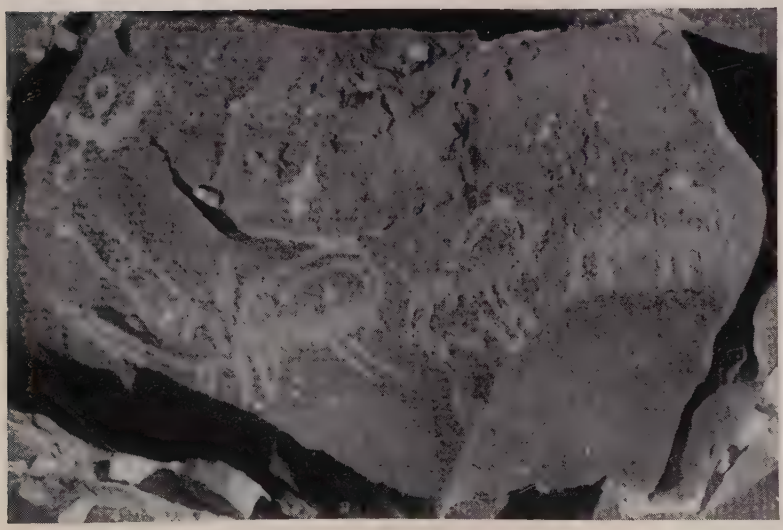


A. Hunting scene from Group 61.



B. Rock with three superimposed layers of engravings. Group 65.

A. Scene of men and antelope from Group 67, with Thamudic inscription on lower part of rock.



B. Three antelopes belonging to an early phase of Style IV. Group 67.

A. Stylized hind and next it a modern *wasm*. Group 64.

B. Schematic man, antelope and camel belonging to Style VI, and nearby a modern *wasm*. Group 64.

areas of its period. This style bears the imprint of the occidental civilization, and it probably was the result of intercourse between local nomads, and soldiers and civilians coming from the north. It is worth noting that, to the best of our knowledge, no engravings belonging to style V have been discovered as yet in Arabia. It is not excluded that this style represents a local development when desert areas were intensively developed in the Roman and Byzantine periods.

The one engraving belonging to the realistic style III is somewhat different from the engravings of this style usually found in the Central Negev. It shows common characteristics with known engravings from Upper Egypt, which were classed there by Winkler in the " Autochthonous Mountain Dwellers " group. Nevertheless nothing certain can be said as yet about the dating of this style in the Negev.

As for the way of life, no great innovations have been revealed by the new groups described here, and what we knew from the Central Negev is only reaffirmed. The artists of the realistic style III were first of all hunters. Those from style IV onward, with the exception of style V which does not appear here, based their life upon hunting and sheep raising.

On the Jebel Ideid, there have been found no remains of sedentary habitation and the only archaeological remains are enclosures and sheep-pens, which very probably belonged to nomadic or semi-nomadic pastoral groups. These enclosures are usually near a group of engravings so that it may be conjectured that the same people were also the artists of the engravings.

STORIES OF THE CREATION AND THE FLOOD

By Sir Leonard Woolley

In the year 1872 George Smith published the tablets from Kouyunjik, which contained what he called " the Chaldean account of Genesis ".

It is unnecessary to recall to-day the sensation which this publication aroused as something which seemed to invalidate the inspiration of the Old Testament. That there was some connection between the Hebrew and the Akkadian versions could not be denied, but did this mean that the Hebrew was copied from the Akkadian? The Assyrian Royal Library, from which the tablets came, was dated no earlier than the seventh century B.C.; surely, then, it could be assumed that the Assyrian scribes had borrowed their stories from the Hebrews. George Smith, however, was able to prove that the Assyrian tablets were copied from very much older Babylonian tablets and in due course actual documents were forthcoming which showed that the Babylonian versions in their turn depended upon Sumerian originals written before the birth of Abraham. Some diehards were found to argue that, this being so, the Mesopotamian and the Hebrew accounts were independent traditions going back to a common source; this would explain resemblances but the Hebrew version was the purer of the two and therefore was free of the gross polytheism with which revealed truth had been overlaid by Mesopotamian paganism. In various distant parts of the world there were races whose folklore included a Flood story, conclusive evidence that the universal deluge of Genesis had impressed itself upon the minds and memories of all alike, and if in two neighbouring lands the stories took similar forms that was only natural. A few entrench themselves behind some such arguments as these, but for most the evidence of the tablets is convincing; the fact that the Genesis stories are based upon the ancient Sumerian is generally accepted, although to some even of those who accept it it remains somewhat of a stumbling-block.

If that be so, it is because they make the fundamental mistake of classing together in the same category two things which are essentially different. Even the title given to my lecture today to some extent perpetuates the error —" Stories of the Creation and the Flood "—it seems to put them upon the same footing, whereas they could scarcely be more diametrically opposed. Let me explain this. The Flood story purports to be history. It deals with a definite incident in man's experience, with the adventures of an individual human being whose name and genealogy are on record, and it recounts the facts of that experience as they were remembered and handed down by tradition through subsequent generations. On the other hand,

the Creation story deals with times and events prior to the appearance of man upon the earth, prior indeed to the very existence of the earth. It cannot therefore be based on human memory. If it be claimed to be a record of facts, then it can only result from divine revelation, since nobody but God could know the facts—and I certainly cannot imagine anyone attributing to divine inspiration the very unpleasant theogony of the Sumerian tablets from which the Genesis account is derived. Otherwise it is necessarily an invention, but a serious one; an essay in cosmological speculation whereby man attempts to explain the universe. Here, then, we have two things, tradition and myth, which are absolutely different; we have tended to confuse the two, but, as I hope to show later, the Hebrews did not; they recognised the difference and treated the two things differently. Let me take the Creation myth first.

The cuneiform tablets which contain the Creation story are terribly fragmentary, so that the text is very far from complete. Moreover, they contain not one legend but several, and these cover a very wide field. The main subject is not the creation of the universe but something much more important, the creation or genesis of the gods who rule the universe. It is an extraordinarily barbarous tale and utterly un-moral; these monstrous gods fight amongst themselves, cheat and kill each other, supplant one another, so that the original gods disappear or are degraded and a pantheon of younger gods usurps their powers, and it is only late in time and almost incidentally that the world is made and man created to minister to the comfort of the gods. From the scanty remains of the tablets giving the story of the creation of the universe it would appear that this took seven days and that the order was similar to that in the Hebrew version; but if this latter be compared with the whole cycle of the Sumerian cosmogony they seem to have so little in common that even the dependence of the Hebrew on the Sumerian might be called in question. But the Mesopotamian origin is, I think, unmistakeable. Quite apart from the parallelism with the Sumerian version implicit in the Six Days of creation and the seven-day week, there is the occurrence in the Hebrew text of the (I think I am right in saying) non-Hebrew word *tehom* to describe the waters that covered the unformed earth, a word derived from *tiamat*, the name of the goddess of chaos who appears similarly in the Sumerian story " before the waters were collected in one place "; most scholars—though there are, I admit, exceptions to the rule—regard this as in itself proof of the derivative character of the Hebrew version. But the point on which I should insist is this, that the account given of the creation is applicable to Lower Mesopotamia alone. " And God said, Let the waters under the heaven be gathered together into one place, and let the dry land appear: and it was so ". Now no people living in central Arabia, or in the Caucasus, or in the hills of Judea or on the Syrian plateau would ever have imagined that their country had once been underneath the sea; the gathering-together of the waters and the

appearance of dry land as the result would have been meaningless to them. But to the inhabitant of Lower Mesopotamia that was the obvious course of nature; not only had it happened but it was happening all the time before his eyes. There the whole valley had once been marsh, quite a lot of it was marshland still; but by degrees the water-level had sunk, the streams had cut channels for themselves and man by digging canals had helped the natural process, and as the waters were thus gathered together the dry land forthwith appeared. Nor was this all. The order of creation as given in Genesis is a very logical one—it has often been pointed out how close it comes to that postulated by modern science—but there is one curious departure from logic. Immediately after the creation of dry land, on the same day, in obedience to God's word " the earth brought forth grass, and herb yielding seed after his kind, and the tree yielding fruit, whose seed was in itself, after his kind " and all this on the third day before ever the sun and moon and the stars were made. Now the whole of Lower Mesopotamia is formed by the silt deposited by the rivers Tigris and Euphrates, and that river silt is the richest soil imaginable. As the old marshes dried up the new land would be covered at once with vegetation of every sort; it was the amazing fertility of the soil recovered from the waters that had attracted the first settlers into the river valley and made possible the development of the Sumerian city-states. For the Sumerian, the earth was made for man, and when he spoke of " the earth " he thought of the earth as the place on and by which man could live. The waste stretches of the upper desert lying to the west meant nothing to him; the Elamite mountains to the east meant nothing; what concerned him was the fruitful land that supported human life. So when he attempted to describe the creation of the world it was the creation of the river valley that he described, and the picture that he drew was realistically true; the waters that had once prevailed everywhere were gathered together into one place and the dry land appeared and at once brought forth all that was needed for man; there was your world. It was as simple as that. The Genesis account is precisely what a Sumerian would have written, and it could not have been written by an inhabitant of any other country where the physical conditions were different. The Hebrews therefore borrowed it from Sumer.

In the case of the Flood legend there can be no doubt whatsoever. Here we have to deal not with similarity but with identity; not only is the story in the Old Testament the same, but the details of it and even the language, the turns of expression, reproduce exactly the cuneiform version. The fact is too obvious and too familiar to call for any discussion here. Now in the tablets the Flood story is almost incidental; it is narrated to the hero Gilgamish by Uta-Napishtim, the Sumerian Noah, himself, and is told therefore in the first person, which makes it very vivid but scarcely more credible; it is true that Uta-Napishtim is represented as a man and as a citizen of Suruppak, a well-known city, but that might be merely a literary

artifice; in itself it would not justify us in regarding this interpolated poem as anything more than a folk tale put into poetical form. But that is not at all how the ancient Sumerians regarded it; for them the story dealt with a historical fact.

We possess, on various tablets, the list of kings which the Sumerian scribe drew up as the framework of their country's history. It begins—in Mesopotamia—with eight fabulous semi-divine rulers whose combined reigns total nearly a quarter of a million years. Then, they say, " the Flood came. After the Flood came, kingship was again sent down from on high ". Then are enumerated the kings who ruled after the Flood. First comes a dynasty whose capital city was Kish; then, the First Dynasty of Erech; then, the First Dynasty of Ur. The kings of Kish and of Erech are still, some of them, the gods and heroes of legend, and they enjoy an incredible longevity; but with the kings of Ur we come down to earth and not only are they credited with lives of normal span but we have actually discovered at Ur their written monuments, proving that they at least are genuine historical characters. Undoubtedly to the Sumerian all alike were equally genuine (mere length of life presented to the Sumerian no greater difficulty than the Hebrew writer felt about Methuselah—and in any case the figures as we have them are corrupt) and into the middle of this schematised historical framework they insert the simple and unadorned reference to the Flood. There is no story about it here, any more than there are accounts of the lives of the several kings; they just state a fact. It was necessary to state it because the Flood had caused a breach in the continuous history of the country—not an absolute break, because some of the antediluvian cities continued in existence after the disaster; but it had so upset the economy of the land that for a time the whole social system had broken down, there was no longer any rule or government, and kingship had to be sent down again from on high before the ordered sequence of society could be resumed. It was a real event which they could date, at least as well as they could date the kings who ruled before and after it; we cannot accept their nonsensical chronology, but it may well be that they put it in its right place in relation to their history as a whole.

What has archaeology to say about it ?

At Ur we excavated a number of deep pits on the north—*i.e.*, on the up-river flank of the mound formed by the remains of the earliest settlement, all the pits being in or close to the area containing the old Royal tombs. The evidence given by the pits was absolutely consistent. In the upper levels we dug through as many as eight building-strata, the first two or three belonging to the Early Dynastic period which culminated in and by the Sumerian historians was identified with the First Dynasty of Ur, and the rest belonging to the preceding era, which in the archaeological jargon of to-day is called the Jamdat Nasr Period. Then there came a stratum some eighteen feet thick composed entirely of broken potsherds, at intervals

in which we found the brick kilns in which the pots had been fired—they were the " wasters " of a factory which had been active literally for centuries. In the upper part of the stratum the pots were of the Jamdat Nasr type; then these stopped and we had the plain red or grey ware of an earlier time, the Uruk Period, and at the bottom was a relatively thin layer of fragments showing a debased form of the decoration characteristic of al 'Ubaid pottery, which is the pottery of the oldest inhabitants of southern Mesopotamia. Below this there was a stratum (with a maximum thickness of eleven feet) of perfectly clean water-borne silt, obviously deposited against the mound's flank by a great inundation—the silt was of the type brought by the Euphrates from northern Mesopotamia—and underneath that there were again house ruins rich in the fine painted pottery of the early al 'Ubaid culture; these were the antediluvian houses.

We have at Ur definite evidence of a very great flood whose waters, upwards of twenty-five feet deep[1], must have destroyed everything in the Delta except for a few of the greater towns which had grown up into mounds high enough to be out of the Flood's reach; thus Ur itself, we know, escaped, but the houses at the foot of the mound perished, and in the open plain we have found the ruins of not one but several villages of the same date which were overthrown and never again inhabited. The disaster came at the close of what we call the al 'Ubaid Period. The al 'Ubaid culture is that of the earliest settlers in Lower Mesopotamia, and it lasted for a very long time; at Eridu, regarded by the Sumerians as the most ancient of their cities, the Iraq Government excavators discovered the remains of sixteen temples built one above the other and all belonging to the al 'Ubaid Period. After the Flood the al 'Ubaid culture lingered on for a short while in a degenerate form and then gave place to a quite different culture brought in by immigrants from the North. This Uruk (or Erech) culture was in its turn supplanted by that of another immigrant race which dominated the country during what we call the Jamdat Nasr Period; after that again comes the Early Dynastic Period which culminated in the First Dynasty of Ur. The First Dynasty of Ur is, as I have said, named in the Sumerian King-Lists; the period of the Kings before the Flood in those lists must correspond to the al 'Ubaid Period for the simple reason that the latter does come before the Flood and is the earliest in the land's history; if we venture to go farther and to correlate the two archaeological periods of Uruk and Jamdat Nasr with the two dynasties of Kish and Erech recorded in the Lists, the equation is complete and the " date " of the Flood given by the Sumerian scribes tallies exactly with its position in the archaeological sequence. Naturally there is no archaeological support for the details of the Uta-Napishtim story; but that the story is founded on a basis of historical fact cannot well be denied.

[1] In the Genesis account the depth of the flood is given as twenty-six feet.

The Creation myth and the Flood legend therefore were taken over by the Hebrews from Mesopotamian originals. When did that happen ?

Some scholars have maintained that the early chapters of Genesis were based upon the Babylonian legends by the Hebrew scribes who, during the Captivity, drew up the Canon of Jewish scriptures. That seems to me to be, in any case, psychologically impossible. The scribes were pious men whose concern it was to preserve in all their purity the religious books and the religious beliefs which had been handed down to them and had—not without difficulty—survived in spite of the apostacy of kings and priests in Jerusalem. It is inconceivable that they should have taken the opportunity to delve into the pagan mythology of their conquerors and extract therefrom new material to be incorporated in their sacred writings as part of the divine revelation. But the psychological argument does not stand alone. If the scribes had wanted to use the Babylonian legends in order to make a novel addition to the Canon they would have consulted the standard version of those legends which was preserved in the libraries of the Palace and of the temples; they would therefore have been dealing with a single text and we should not have had in the Old Testament that intricate and sometimes not very successful welding together of variant versions which actually we do find there. If they were translating from the Babylonian, how did the scribes arrive at the name of Noah, which could not possibly be derived from the Uta-Napishtim of the tablets? Why did they make the Ark ground on Mt. Ararat, not mentioned in the tablets? It is indeed far more likely that the stories of the Creation and the Flood were part of the cultural heritage which Abraham took with him from Ur, and that they had been familiar to the Hebrew people ever since that time. There is archaeological evidence to support this. A fragmentary inscription shows that in the Haran district there was current a " northern version " of the Flood legend in which the name of the hero is not Uta-Napishtim but something very like the Noah of Genesis; and seeing that Abraham lived at Haran and the patriarchs took their wives thence, the adoption of the name " Noah " is easily explained; whether the name " Ararat " also occurs in the " northern version " we have no means of knowing but it is at least quite possible that a northern people would conceive of the Ark's coming to ground on the highest mountain of which they had ever heard—a mountain, be it remarked, quite outside the knowledge of the people of southern Mesopotamia. If, from that early date, the stories borrowed from Ur continued to be handed down by oral transmission through the successive generations of the Hebrew people, then the existence in late times of two variant versions equally sanctioned by the traditions of the different tribes need not cause any surprise. The redactors of the Genesis account had to reconcile the two versions without sacrificing either simply because both alike were part of the spiritual inheritance of the nation.

Actually it is difficult to say to what extent these stories influenced the

early Hebrews; they play virtually no part in the subsequent books of the Old Testament. There is, of course, in the Decalogue the detailed reference to the six days of creation, but this is generally taken to be an addition to the original text and to be not earlier than the Captivity. But even if we grant this, there remains the commandment itself, establishing, or confirming, the seven-day week with its six working days, which we cannot but associate with the six days of creation; if the second clause containing the explicit parallel is of late date it does not introduce a novelty but simply puts into words what everybody had always known. That the Decalogue in its oldest form implies a knowledge of the Creation story can be confidently assumed. If, with this important exception, the books of the Old Testament do not directly refer to the early chapters of Genesis, we need not be surprised; why should they? The Psalmist may well be recalling the old story when, for instance, he sings the praises of the Creator who has set for the sea " its bounds which it may not pass neither turn again to cover the earth "; but the historical books obviously would not quote the legends and the prophets have no occasion to do so. This silence is no argument at all against the legends being current throughout the Old Testament period.

We can reasonably assume that they were current as folklore. During the greater part of the time at least they would not be written down but would be transmitted orally; and because they were not in the same category as the records of the peculiar religion of the Hebrew nation which were guarded and promulgated by the religious orders, but were the common property of the multitude, always ignorant and often unorthodox, they would surely retain a good deal of the original polytheistic colouring. The redactors of the Canonical books in the time of the Captivity had a difficult task in making the legends conform to the orthodox views which they wanted to inculcate; such curious survivals as we have in the verse about " the sons of God " seeing " the daughters of men, that they were fair . . . and there were giants in the land in those days " show how difficult. But if they felt that the stories had none the less to be included in the Scriptures and that where there were variants the versions had to be combined in such a way that the traditional wording of both should be preserved, then we have the strongest possible testimony to the important place that the stories held in the popular belief.

But the treatment accorded to the two stories, the myth and the legend, was very different.

The Sumerian Creation-story was an elaborate cosmology giving the basis of the whole Sumerian religion. Since that religion was false, the entire theogony had to be scrapped; as religious leaders the redactors had a free hand in the matter and were obliged to cut away everything that was opposed to their own faith. Only the relatively small part dealing with the creation of the world as we know it had to be kept because it was intrinsic

to Jewish religious practice, to the observance of the Sabbath.[1] But it was reduced to the simplest and most essential form, purged of all monstrous elements that might have survived in the oral tradition; but it reconciled to the reformed religion what had always been the popular belief. But the Flood story was history. The flood had taken place in Mesopotamia, the written Mesopotamian accounts of it went back farther than any Hebrew tradition, and so the closer you kept to the Babylonian version the closer you would be to the truth. Of course, the references to false gods had to be eliminated, but so far as the facts of the history went, the original source should be followed, if possibly *verbatim*. This is why the history of Noah reproduces so exactly the cuneiform version, whereas the Creation myth has relatively little in common with the cosmogony of the tablets.

Let me sum up the whole matter as I have tried to deal with it. The story of the Creation and the story of the Flood both originate in southern Mesopotamia, and we have texts of them that go back in date to before the time of the patriarch Abraham. The first is a piece of pagan mythology, the second is a saga about human beings which was regarded as historical; the first is necessarily pure invention, the second is based upon an actual event of which we possess the proof, though, of course, there can be no proof of the saga's details. Both stories would have been known to Abraham if he lived (as he certainly did) at Ur, and one at least, probably both, would have been current at Haran in the patriarchal period. Both were adopted by the patriarchal family and were handed down as oral tradition, becoming part of the popular belief of the Hebrew people and influencing them to the extent shown by the institution of the seven-day week and the ritual observance of the Sabbath. When, in the time of the Captivity, the sacred books were edited, these stories were incorporated although they were not found in either of the two more ancient sources on which the redactors drew. The old Sumerian (Babylonian) Creation myth was radically cut down so as to leave only that philosophical speculation which recognises in God the Prime Cause; the Flood saga was preserved in its traditional form but moralised in agreement with the religious ideas of the later Jews. To compare the Genesis version with that of the cuneiform tablets from which it is derived is to realise the astonishing development of those religious ideas since the days when " your fathers worshipped strange gods beyond the River ".

[1] I venture to suggest that if the second clause of the fourth commandment of the Decalogue " For in six days the Lord made heaven and earth, the sea and all that in them is . . . " was really a gloss added at this time; it was put there to excuse, or rather, to explain, the addition to the beginning of Genesis of what had not hitherto been any part of the sacred books.

LATE CYPRIOT III

in the light of recent excavations

Some interim considerations

By J. DU PLAT TAYLOR

LATE Cypriot III, the last phase of the Bronze Age, so defined by the Swedish Cyprus Expedition, covers the little-known transitional period from Bronze to Iron.

At that time, though much material was rather widely attributed to the period, only the inadequately recorded tombs dug by the British Museum at Enkomi and Curium, a few groups excavated by the Swedish Cyprus Expedition from Enkomi, and some stratified material from Idalion and Ay Irini, were available. Bamboula, the site discovered by the Pennsylvania Expedition, was still in process of excavation. In the post-war years, however, a number of sites were discovered and excavated, which have immediately enlarged the picture. Some are still in process of exploration, or the final reports are awaited, but enough has appeared in interim reports to make a preliminary appraisal of their contribution to the archaeology of the period, and to consider some of the problems which arise.

Turning first to Enkomi, the town site on the east coast, first recognised by Schaeffer when he cleared a few rooms in 1934.[1] He continued the work in 1947, after which the joint expedition under Dr. Dikaios, of the Cyprus Department of Antiquities, and himself, was formed. Work has continued almost every year on separate portions of the site, uncovering a considerable area of the town. In his latest book, *Enkomi-Alasia* (1952), Schaeffer gives the first detailed account of a building, No. 18, and a description of a few related tomb groups; but so far Dr. Dikaios has issued only interim reports. "Batiment 18", a large tripartite building with walls of immense ashlar blocks, appears to be the first structure on this part of the site. On the rock there are traces of Middle Cypriot occupation in the soil cut by the foundation trenches. The area had, however, been a cemetery for a considerable period, which would largely account for the mixed sherds in the stratum beneath the building, obtained from the repeated re-opening of tombs for further burials.

For the *terminus post quem* of the construction of the building only the latest sherds or objects found beneath the floor (Sol V) need be considered. Schaeffer[2] states that in and under the floors, Myc. IIIA. 2-IIIB, sherds

[1] Schaeffer. *Mission en Chypre*, 1936.

[2] Schaeffer. *Enkomi-Alasia*, 1952, 301.

were found but not IIIC, and that the majority belong to his Chypriote Récent III; in the report of Section C 91[1] he remarks that there is unequivocal Chypriote Récent III below Sol V. The faience bowls[2] from Sol VI are common in Cyprus during the time of Ramses II. As Schaeffer's Chypriote Récent III (equated with Furumark's Myc. IIIA.2-IIIB, Swedish Late Cypriot IIb-c) is dated by him 1350–1200 B.C., it seems that the earliest date for the construction of " Batiment 18 " must lie well within the 13th Century at the earliest.[3]

The position of the Swedish tomb 18 in relation to " Batiment 18 " (to which it gives its name) cannot be clearly ascertained.[4] It appears to lie in the south-west part of the building, if it is the tomb shown on Pl. LXXX; but in the larger-scale plan (Pl. LXXXVII) no tombs of chamber type are shown, nor do they appear in Coupe 91, which should cross tomb 18. The Swedish section[5] is not carried up to the surface but it is clear from the text[6] that the later well shaft is cut down from the floor (now known to be Bronze Age and not Byzantine) and that the whole building had collapsed into the tomb. Two at least of these square shafts of approximately the same size are shown in *Enkomi-Alasia*, Pl. LXXXVII, G 22, H 21. It may be inferred that these shafts were made when the building was in use, either as wells or rubbish pits, and the fact that they cut through a tomb would seem to imply ignorance of its presence.

The stratigraphical connection of the building with the tombs therefore remains uncertain; nor is it clear from whence the tomb was entered. We are left, then, with a comparison of the material, from which it can be seen that none of the pottery need be later than that found *below* the floor of the building, which Schaeffer states on p. 335.

It is true that sherds from earlier periods will appear in considerably later levels on a site of this type, where the ground is much disturbed and cut about; but in this instance there is a marked cultural change above Sol V. Occupation on this floor is lacking in the sections given; but a " close style " jug,[7] a jug with a strainer spout, and some bowls with painted spirals were found on and in the burnt layer which marked the destruction of the building

The " close style " jug furnishes a *terminus post quem* for the destruction; but the material found under Sol IV may also be considered in this connection, for that layer will contain all types in use up to the demolition. Here, again, we have a predominance of Decorated L.C.III bowls with spirals in the

[1] *ibid.*, 289.

[2] Schaeffer. *E-A*, 302.

[3] Schaeffer has several times revised his chronology for Enkomi, but in the light of Dr. Dikaios' evidence for the ashlar building of the temple which adjoins " Batiment 18 ", (see below), the date of this important phase should perhaps lie within the last quarter of the 13th century.

[4] Schaeffer, *E-A*, 240, 318 ff.

[5] *Swedish Cyprus Expedition* I, fig. 209.

[6] *ibid.*, 547.

[7] Schaeffer, *E-A*, fig. 91.

bottom, jugs with basket handles and Bucchero jugs. Few earlier sherds were found, and no Myc. IIIB. On balance it would seem that Tomb 18 was used for the last time prior to the construction of " Batiment 18 ", and that the contemporary tombs are elsewhere. Sol IV is a squatter's occupation on the demolished pisé and mudbrick walls of the main building. The floor is only occasionally defined, but in the angle of one of the old walls bronze founders had set up their workshop.[1] The pottery among this debris is mostly plain, with some Decorated L.C.III and Bucchero of types represented in Tombs 5, 6, 13.[2] This post-burning occupation before the small houses of Sol III were built appears to be of short duration. At this time the old doorways were blocked, the road level raised to suit the new houses and the newcomers were soon settled.

The occupation of Sol III first includes " granary class ", but more important for dating purposes are the Ramesside scarabs[3] from some of the tombs containing similar pottery, giving a date in the XX Dynasty.

Sol II is not a clearly defined period and is chiefly represented by secondary floors; but the end of the occupation is marked by violent destruction, in this case earthquake, and objects like the small bronze figures were lost upon the floors.

The final occupation and rebuilding of Sol I closes the story of Enkomi. " Wavy line " pottery, the characteristic type for this period, shows many affinities with the Proto-Geometric, and includes the Proto-White Painted of Cyprus. The end of the occupation is marked by the concealment of many metal hoards, the owners of which never returned.

The houses, including the " Maison des Bronzes " in the southern region are not fully described, but appear to be occupied in the later phases of the settlement. They lie over deep strata containing L.C.II—III material and the workshops appear to belong to the Sol III period, succeeding the squatters. The hoards and ingots found in 1947 are said to be contemporary with the XII C. tombs[4], therefore of the same period.

Dr. Dikaios' excavations have also uncovered a large building with walls of ashlar blocks[5]. It appears to have been a sanctuary, for in it were found the bronze statue of a horned god and many votive bowls, horns and antlers[6]. A succession of five floors were found in most of the rooms and in some six; the sixth and earliest contained Myc. IIIC.1[7], Decorated L.C. III and local contemporary wares, as well as the clay tablet with Cypriot text[8]. Floor II was destroyed by earthquake and appears to correspond with Schaeffer's Sol II. On it was found the deposit of wheelmade Basering bowls, a type

[1] Schaeffer, *E-A.*, 309.

[2] Schaeffer, *Mission*, 136 ff.

[3] Schaeffer, *E-A.*, 318.

[4] Schaeffer, *Mission*, 80, fig. 40–45.

[5] Archaeology in Cyprus, *J.H.S.* LXX, 14; LXXI, 258; LXXII, 114; LXXIII, 134; LXXIV, 171; LXXV, supp., 29.

[6] *Antiquity*, XXVIII, 1953, 103.

[7] Cf. Dikaios, *Guide to Cyprus Museum*, 2nd edition, Pl. X.2.

[8] *J.H.S.*, LXXIV, 171; *Antiquity*, XXVIII 103, 233.

not hitherto recorded. A final reconstruction in floor I yielded the " wavy line "[1] ware similar to that of " Batiment 18 ", Sol I.

The occupation below the sanctuary has not yet been explored; but in a second area adjoining the town wall at the north end of the site, Dr. Dikaios has carried his excavations down to bed rock[2]. Here he has found continuous occupation from L.C. I with an early fort containing sling-stones and bronze weapons.

In the 13th century a town wall, 3·50m. thick, was built in successive stages. During the third quarter of the century large boulders were used to thicken the outside of the sector; within, a higher floor level and a complete rearrangement of plan, with thick white plaster floors, are a feature of this stage. This level was in its turn destroyed at the end of the 13th century, and Myc. IIIC.1 pottery sealed under the debris. After a further reconstruction, the houses were destroyed by fire while Myc. IIIC.1 pottery was still in use.

In the 12th century an outer row of massive blocks and a tower of bossed masonry were added to the wall. Immediately behind the area was cleared and no occupation levels containing Decorated L.C. III or granary class pottery were found. A gate and tower have now been uncovered in this area.

Late Cypriot III tombs are recorded from various parts of the site, but their relation to the buildings within the town is not always apparent. The characteristic shaft grave lined with rubble and usually containing not more than two burials, is not found in previous periods in the island. Occasionally, however, chamber tombs have been broken into and re-used, as Caveau 5[3]; smaller ones have first been cleared out. The principal groups are Fr. Tombs 1[4], 6[5], 5[6], 13, 14, 15, 16, 17[7]; Swedish tombs 6[5], 7A, 10[2], 14, 15, 16, 19A[8]; and a number excavated by the British Museum were classified by Gjerstad[9], though it was not always possible to ascertain how long the groups were in use for not all of the material has been preserved.

The characteristic vases of these groups are Plain White, Matt Painted bowls and Bucchero jugs, such as have been found among the stratified pottery. In addition, the type objects include many hemispherical and raised-base bronze bowls, bronze tripods, pins, chisels, shield bosses, etc. Stone mortars and pestles and some vases are also common. In many cases the groups contained scarabs of Ramses III.

Before assessing further the material of L.C. III, we may consider the other settlements which were in occupation at the same time. The nearest

[1] Dikaios, *op. cit.*, Pl. X.3.

[2] *J.H.S.*, LXXV, supp., fig. 1.

[3] Schaeffer, *E-A.*, 156 ff.

[4] *ibid.*, 232.

[5] Schaeffer, *Mission*, 136.

[6] Schaeffer, *E-A.*, 156.

[7] Schaeffer, *Mission*, 141 ff; see also *Stratigraphie*, 392.

[8] *S.C.E.* I, 491, 498, 505 ff, 558.

[9] *Studies in Prehistoric Cyprus*, 284.

was that of *Sinda*, some 12 miles inland, and excavated by Furumark in 1947[1]. The site was a small fortified Bronze Age town, of which he uncovered some parts, together with the north gate. Only preliminary reports have appeared, but Furumark describes the gate as, " arranged as at Mycenae so that the enemy must expose his unprotected right in approaching ", and " covered by a guardhouse with solid double walls ".

Three main periods were distinguished:—

I. Founded in L.C. IIC. *c.* 1300 B.C.

II. Burnt at the end of the period, *c.* 1230 B.C., and immediately rebuilt.

III. Destroyed by a second catastrophe very soon after 1200 B.C., after which it was only partly re-occupied and eventually deserted.

The important discovery was the existence of a locally-made Myc. IIIC.1b ware, similar to that from the Argolid, with some Rhodian Myc. IIIC.1a imports, at the beginning of the second period, and also some late wheel-made Basering ware.

Period II appears therefore to correspond with the occupation in " Batiment 18 " and the temple at Enkomi. Sinda could have been burnt at the same time; but on present evidence from the wheel-made Basering bowls it continued until the occupation on Sol II; hence the whole site could have been destroyed by the same earthquake as Enkomi, though Furumark attributes the second catastrophe to the " Peoples of the Sea ".

Turning south, the next site occupied at this time was Dali[2]. The western acropolis, excavated by the Swedish Expedition, yielded three L.C. III levels. The area was enclosed by a substantial fortification wall with three gates; only a small area within the wall was cleared. In the first period there were few buildings, except for a cult house and priest's quarters, but the rock was pitted with a number of circular bothroi. A deposit in the cult house included bull figurines, hand-made Bucchero jugs of Sjöqvist type 3a, and some White Painted ware, which, perhaps, might now be termed Decorated L.C. III. Domestic utensils came from other rooms.

Periods II and III show small alterations to the defences, but more extensive quarters were built with a new priest's and cult house. Pottery was not very plentiful but the amount of minor metal objects is surprising. In all periods they are almost entirely personal ornament and domestic objects; only in Period II is an arrowhead found and in Period III an iron sword and two more arrowheads.

At the end of Period III the acropolis appears to have been abandoned, for, with the exception of some half-dozen White Painted I sherds, no later objects are recorded until Cypro-Archaic I. A modern assessment of the pottery would be useful, but the sherds are no longer available.

[1] *A.J.A.* LII, 531; *Arkeologiska Forsinngar och Fynd*, 1953, 59.

[2] *S.C.E.* II, 460 ff.

It would seem that, except for a scatter of earlier sherds on the rock surface, the acropolis was not fortified until after the beginning of L.C. III, for the pot types illustrated belong to the series found in Enkomi, T. 6, etc., which is later than " Batiment 18 ".

One other site, *Bamboula*, the Bronze Age town of Kurion, was excavated by the late J. F. Daniel for the Pennsylvania University Museum Expedition[1]. It lies on the south coast near the modern village of Episcopi; the settlement extends from the acropolis on the east of the village almost to the banks of the Kouris. In the preliminary reports the site is described as a walled town, of which the acropolis was occupied in L.C. I. Six of the thirteen levels uncovered can be reasonably dated; but for L.C. III we are concerned only with the last four.

The area nearest the Kouris had been enclosed by a wall in L.C. II, but it was only sparsely occupied until L.C. III. Four structural periods can be distinguished; I and II represent substantial houses, but by Period III these were greatly reduced; only some rooms were rebuilt, while other parts were flattened off and adapted for other uses. Period IV was apparent only in some repairs and reconstructions, after which the area was abandoned until the town wall was rebuilt in the seventh century.

On the floors of the houses 90 per cent. of the pottery was Plain White with " L.H. III " sherds of " comparatively late type " but Bucchero formed 20 per cent. of the fine L.C. III ware in I, and 7·5 per cent. in II. These are again Sjöqvist's type 3 jugs. In Period I they are made of hard dark clay of Basering type, either hand or wheel-made; in Period II they are wheel-made, of light clay decorated with matt paint. All the painted wares are wheel-made and related to the types from Kaloriziki cemetery, of which Daniel published Tombs 25 and 26[2].

For Period I of the settlement he cites four types of vessel in buff or red clay with red to matt black paint; a few are in greenish drab clay:—

1. A flat-bottomed bowl with flaring sides, decorated inside and out with alternating red and black bands and spirals (BM. C 723–4; Curium T 89) [perhaps *cf.* Enkomi Cav. 5. 305, 311[3] (Fig. 1 : 4)].

2. A deep bowl with roll foot, curved sides and horizontal roll rim; loop handles below rim. Bands and spirals as *A.J.A.* XLI, Pl. I.29 (Fig. 1 : 2).

3. A bowl with concave rim and high wishbone handle; a shallower copy of a Basering bowl with bands and spiral. (Perhaps the wheel-made Basering.)

4. A straight-sided bowl (*A.J.A.* XLII, fig. 6).

[1] *A.J.A.* XLII, 261; *Penns. Museum Bull.* VII.3, p. 14; VIII.1, p. 3; Review, *A.J.A.* XLVI, 285.

[2] *A.J.A.* XLI, 56 ff.

[3] Schaeffer, *E-A*, fig. 34, 72–3.

Fig. 1. White Painted ware from Bamboula (after Daniel). Scale $\frac{1}{4}$

In Period II the main bowl types continue with softer clay and thicker walls; the paint is matt. The amphorae with wavy line on the neck and drip pattern on the shoulder first make their appearance (Fig. 1 : 8)[1]; and the fruit-stand of reddish clay, barred with deep red paint, is an entirely new type (Fig. 1 : 6)[2]; other types include the amphoriskos (Fig. 1 : 3)[3] and cup (Fig. 1 : 1)[4] from Tomb 25, both with wavy-line decoration.

Period III has the black-necked amphora (Fig. 1 : 5)[5], with wavy line on the belly, and hatched triangles and knob on the shoulder associated with White Painted I types. There was also a fruitstand (Fig. 1 : 7)[6] with bands of chocolate-coloured paint.

For Period IV, a deep hemispherical bowl of greenish clay with black bands and spiral is typical.

Daniel himself admits that Period II is later than Idalion II–III. On the Enkomi evidence, Period I appears to be not earlier than Sol III–II, while the " wavy-line " ware of Period II can be equated with Sol I and the last occupation at Enkomi.

These are the only settlements so far excavated which were in existence throughout the L.C. III period; but two sanctuaries and a small mining settlement which were occupied during the early part of the period may also be considered.

The sanctuaries are Ay Irini and Pigadhes, both in the north-west corner of the island not far from Myrtou. Ay Irini was excavated by the Swedish expedition[7]. The sanctuary was founded in L.C. III and consisted of a number of rooms around a rectangular courtyard. One range of rooms contained a few votive offerings, but the remainder of the buildings were not fully excavated due to the presence of later structures. Pottery and objects were scarce in Period I, but in the light of more recent finds at Pigadhes (see below), the types represented possibly belong to the end of L.C. IIC rather than L.C. III. Periods II and III represent destruction and minor alterations before the construction of the main Period IV sanctuary in Cypro-Geometric II–III.

Pigadhes, near Myrtou, excavated by the writer in 1950–51[8], was a similar courtyard sanctuary with surrounding buildings. It was built during Period V of the site, superseding a L.C. I structure, and was itself erected in L.C. IIC. It differed from Ay Irini in that a large altar, built of ashlar in the style of the Enkomi " Batiment 18 " and temple, stood in the court. The pottery associated with this sanctuary was of Myc. IIIB style, together with contemporary local wares and a very few pieces of Myc. IIIC.1. type

[1] *A.J.A.* XLI, pl. III, 12.
[2] *ibid.* XLII, fig. 7b.
[3] *ibid.* XLI, pl. IV, 63.
[4] *ibid.*, pl. IV, 39.
[5] *A.J.A.* XLI, pl. V.62.
[6] *ibid.* XLII, fig. 7a.
[7] *S.C.E.* II, 642 ff.
[8] *I.L.N.* March 22, 1952; *A. für O.* XVI, 1953, 155.

still closely related to Myc. IIIB. [*Note.*—The intervening early (IIIA–B) period mentioned in I.L.N. has now been found to be a minor phase and does not represent an actual period of building.] The site was destroyed at the beginning of L.C. III, and the buildings deliberately wrecked, though not burnt. No further occupation occurred until the beginning of C.G. I, when part of the area was levelled and a deposit of discarded C.G. I–III pottery thrown into the middle of the destroyed court.

Apliki, the small mining settlement near Mavrovouni in the Troodos foothills[1], was also established about the end of L.C. IIB. The main period of occupation belonged to L.C. IIC. Again a very few pieces of Myc. IIIC.1. were found in the last occupation of House A before it was burnt, together with one of the deep bell bowls and part of another with spirals[2]. Thereafter the site was never re-occupied.

Though continuity of occupation in the island from L.C. IIIC into C.G. I is attested by tomb groups, no site mentioned continues later than Enkomi and Bamboula without a break. Gjerstad, in his article on the "Initial Date of the Cypriot Iron Age"[3], has discussed the link between L.C. III and C.G. I on the information available ten years ago, and has set out the evidence for the sequence of early Iron Age tombs. At the same time he has shown, in the light of reconsidered sherds, that Kition was occupied in L.C. III, though the first structures recorded belong to C.G. I. Early Iron Age settlements have then to be sought on fresh sites with the re-orientation of trade.

Since Gjerstad wrote, it is apparent that the so-called "wavy-line" group of painted pottery from Enkomi falls within his Proto-White Painted ware, and that both may be considered in the light of Proto-Geometric parallels. He and Sjöqvist are probably correct in considering the Myc. IIIC.1. of Kaloriziki T 26A as heirlooms. Though some of the vessels of this group were found in the settlement of Bamboula, the majority are later.

It is still too soon to discuss the detailed evolution of Cypriot archæology in L.C. III; it has indeed suffered from a superfluity of nomenclature in inverse ratio to the amount of material until now available.

When Sjöqvist wrote the *Problems*[4] he divided L.C. III into two parts, A and B, based chiefly on the stratigraphy of Idalion and Bamboula: IIIA = Idalion Period I, and IIIB = Periods II–III. The characteristic pottery for the beginning of L.C. IIIA was the narrow-necked Bucchero jug, type 3 (Fig. 2.1-2), together with a greater proportion of Plain wares, mostly wheel-made. This sequence follows closely that of Bamboula; and now, the post-burning layers of Sol III–II at Enkomi together with a few additional tomb groups from that site, can be included in the group. Sjöqvist noted at

[1] *A.J.* XXXII, 133 ff.

[2] *ibid.*, fig. 5 : 4; pl. XXVIIIa : 4.

[3] *Opuscula Archaeologica* III, 73.

[4] Sjöqvist, *Problems*, 126 ff.

the time that there was a lack of correspondence between the proportions of types in the stratification and tomb groups which he was unable to explain.

But from the evidence of " Batiment 18 " and the temple at Enkomi, it is clear that Enkomi 6 iii, 7A, *Fr. T.* 6 ii, 13, 16, and 1 and 15 of 1947 to some extent bridge this gap and imply an extension of L.C. IIC which was not previously apparent, except as a gap in the cemetery at Enkomi. Sjöqvist has mentioned the existence of Basering and White Slip, etc., in the lowest layer on the rock at Idalion and Kition; it is to be expected that sherds of a previous period may be scattered on the ground in an open site but stratigraphically only the latest sherds are here important, so the former cannot be considered as typical of L.C. IIIA. It appears that only the wheel-made variety of Basering continues in use in L.C. IIIB, and that it is now made in a slipped technique similar to the Bucchero. The tomb groups cited still bear a close resemblance to the types of the last phase at Apliki, especially those containing Basering jugs; and it would appear probable that Apliki ceased to be occupied in this intermediate phase between L.C. IIC and early L.C. III.

L.C. IIIB is less clearly defined, but is equated with Idalion II-III and Bamboula II. The proportions of Bucchero change and wheel-made Basering appears together with the fruitstand, both types which occur on Sol II at Enkomi.

As Daniel stated, Bamboula II continued longer than Idalion III, for at the end of the former sherds of ' wavy-line ' amphora had already appeared; therefore Bamboula II must have been still in existence at the time of Sol I at Enkomi.

Before considering the later phases of L.C. III we may examine the new material which fills the gap between L.C. IIC and IIIA, originally postulated by Sjöqvist[1]. Furumark, when he wrote his paper *Mycenean IIIC pottery and its relation to Cypriot Fabrics*[2], was in possession of a little more material than Sjöqvist, and had also the advantage of Gjerstad's paper previously cited. Furumark has there set out his views on Mycenean IIIC on the mainland, in Rhodes and in Crete, in the light of evidence which has appeared since his *Mycenean Pottery*, but, as he says, " if we are to date the final Mycenean phases by the aid of Cypriot evidence—and this appears to be the only possibility at present—it is imperative that the relation between the two sequences be clearly defined ". In dealing with the Cypriot section, it is necessary to reiterate his opening remarks, i.e. that Sjöqvist's " Sub-Mycenean " was subsequently re-named " Debased Levanto-Helladic " by Gjerstad to distinguish it from real Sub-Mycenean. Furumark found the latter name equally unhappy as he considered it gave " a false idea of the origin and stylistic nature of the pottery ". He therefore proposed " Decorated L.C. III " as a " neutral collective title ", and this name is now generally used.

[1] Sjöqvist, *Problems*. 195.

[2] *Opuscula Arch.* III.

For this ware he has tabulated a number of forms with their ascription to L.C. IIIA or B according to Sjöqvist's divisions[1]. It may be noted however that the majority of types available to him come from groups contemporary with Bamboula and Idalion I and therefore of the post-burning period at Enkomi. The exceptions[2] are type A1, the Apliki bowl which he considers of Myc. IIIC.1b origin, and C and H which come from Lapithos Tomb 702, closely related to Apliki, and properly belong to an earlier phase. Though no details of pottery are yet available, Dr. Dikaios distinguishes in the earlier levels of the temple area the presence of Myc. IIIC.1. sherds with a few Decorated L.C. III among them. We may infer, therefore, that Decorated L.C.III already makes its appearance before the Close Style and Myc. IIIC.1b of true mainland or Rhodian type at Sinda.

It follows that 'Batiment 18' and the temple at Enkomi, with Sinda and the last phase of Apliki, represent the early Myc. IIIC.1. period in Cyprus, which was prosperous enough to build important architectural monuments; and that it continued on without a break from Myc. IIIB.

The cultural change comes with the burning of these sites, and the re-establishment of the settlements in a much modified form. It would seem proper therefore to commence L.C. III at this time, allowing it to conform with Sjöqvist's divisions, and to ascribe the previous, newly discovered phase to an extension of L.C. II to which it properly belongs, even at the risk of adding another subdivision.

Furthermore, Furumark has stated[3] that the early Philistine pottery corresponds to his "Myc. IIIC.1b phase, a mature stage when the mainland Close Style was already fully developed". In this connection we may look again at Tell Fara (Beth Pelet) in South Palestine, which lies some distance inland on the Wadi Gaza. Here Sir Flinders Petrie uncovered a fortress building called the 'Governor's residence'[4]. Beneath the floor (level 2), typical sherds of the time of Ramses II and contemporary with Myc. IIIB were found. But above the floor there was a complete change of pottery, which included much of the elaborately decorated Philistine ware. None of the previous levels were fully excavated, but the cemeteries are an indication of the extent of the earlier occupation.

The occupation in the residence obtains an *ad quem* date from the broken stela of Seti II. It may also be noted that the tombs contemporary with this occupation (T. 532, 542, 552, 562) are still rock-cut chambers, but were in use over a considerable period. All but one are disturbed, and that one contained nine burials, the last with a scarab of Ramses IV. An earlier date was originally suggested for these tombs by the presence of scarabs of Ramses II, but in *B.P.* II, 30 ff., it is pointed out that almost all the scarabs are XIX

[1] *ibid.*, 238.

[2] *Opuscula Arch.* III, 235.

[3] *ibid.*, 260; *Chronology*, 118; *M.P.*, 575.

[4] *Beth Pelet* I, pl. LIV; II, pl. LXIX.

Dynasty, with some exceptions as late as Ramses XI[1]. It would seem, therefore, that these tombs cannot have been used earlier than the end of XIX Dynasty, and belong to the last phase of the earlier occupation. All the later burials are in shaft graves, with only one or two bodies, and in these the decorated Philistine ware is seldom found.

Other Philistine sites, as T. Gemmeh and T. Qasile, show the same sequence of occupation, and now that the Close Style has been found both in Cyprus and at Tarsus[2], the origin of the Philistine pottery is to be found close at hand. Moreover, the groups in which these particular vases are sought belong to the same period as the occupation in ' Batiment 18 ' at Enkomi, some time at the end of the XIX Dynasty, and well after the death of Ramses II.

To revert to L.C. IIIA, and the post-burning levels of Sol III-II at Enkomi, Furumark has pointed out[3] that his remaining L.C. III types are Syro-Palestinian, more especially the flask, the fruitstand E.2 (Fig. 1.6), and the

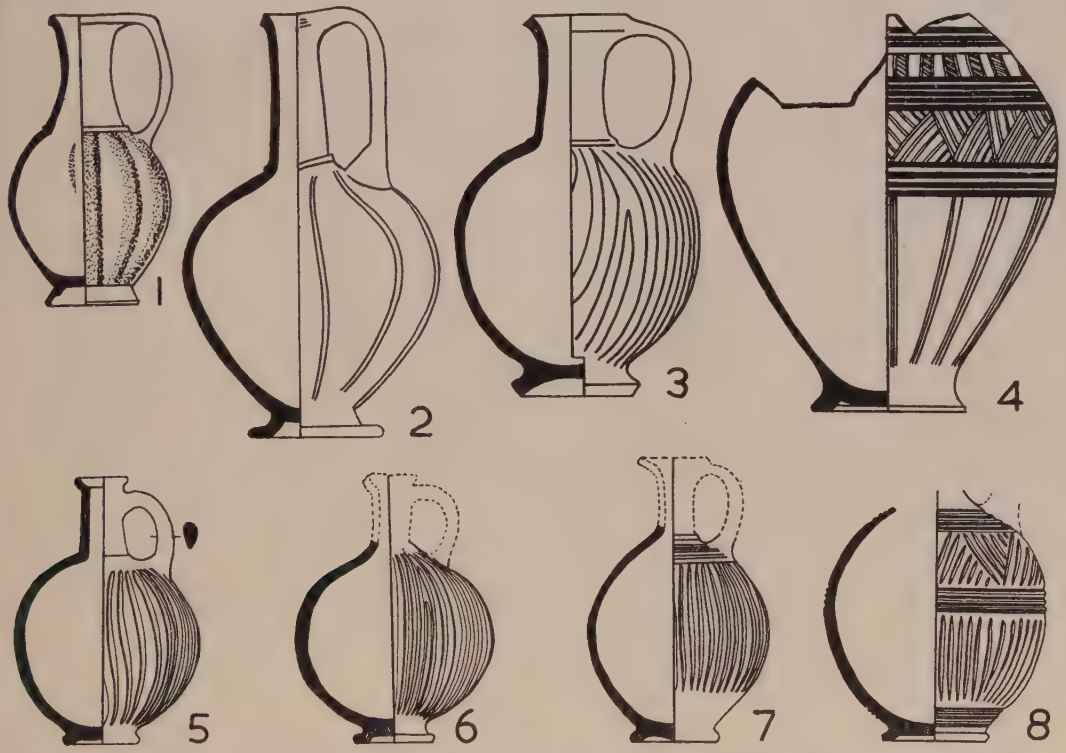


Fig. 2. Bucchero jugs from Cyprus and Palestine (1-4 after Sjögvist and Schaeffer; 5-8, Institute of Archœology). Scale $\frac{1}{4}$

[1] Cf. also Albright, *A.J.A.* XXXVI, 299 ff.

[2] *A.J.A.* XLI, 283, though Stubbings is not convinced of its presence. *Mycenean Pottery in the Levant*, 88.

[3] *Opuscula Arch.* III, 236.

jugs with strainer spout, and that we should look for a Cypriot orientation in that direction. Few Cypriot objects have been recorded abroad at this time, but we may look again at Fara for Cypriot connections. Five tombs, 102, 105, 222, 525, 647[1], contain Bucchero jugs in wheel-made, brown slip-ware (Fig. 2 : 5-7). Of these only those in Tomb 222 (Fig. 2 : 5, 6) were close to the Cypriot type of Enkomi T. 5 (Fig. 2 : 3)[2]; the remainder have a flaring neck and encircling grooves above the ribbing (Fig. 2 : 7), such as is usually found in the Cypro-Geometric period. These groups also contained a few bowls with plain linear decoration in purplish paint, and spirals in the bottom. Flasks are plain with wide funnel mouth (C.P.P. 85)[3]. The pyxoid jar is a survival. Other objects include hemispherical bronze bowls, gold and silver leach earrings, and beads. The XX Dynasty scarabs furnish a *terminus post quem* for the burials. Hemispherical bronze bowls are first noted in T.11 at Enkomi, where there is a L.C. III burial, but it is probable that there may have been earlier occurrences whose form could not be recorded.

Tombs 102, 105, 640, 647 at Fara, though still containing XX Dynasty scarabs, are probably a little later, for in addition to the types already cited and the change in Bucchero jug shape, there are some plain bell-shaped bowls, the flasks are smaller and pointed, and an iron bangle was found. Tomb 525 is apparently the latest, for the scarab is of XXII Dynasty, and the ring-necked jug is a new type.

It may be noted in passing that the woman in Enkomi Tomb 18 wears heavy bronze anklets such as are popular in Fara T. 647 and others. These Fara groups have several elements in common with those so far recorded from Enkomi, and may be associated with the L.C. IIIA phase.

A second group of tombs, 237, 640, 642, probably represent the later phase. In addition to the second type of Bucchero jug (Fig. 2: 7), they contain jugs of similar fabric, but with cross hatched bands (Fig. 2: 8; C.P.P. 59 B[4], D[6]) which may be related to those in Enkomi T. 9[4] and from the Maison des Bronzes area (Fig. 2: 4)[5]. In 237, an iron knife and a long-necked painted flask are first found, neither of which is recorded in Cyprus before Cypro-Geometric I[6]. In Lapithos 409 and Amathus 22, bronze bowls with raised base also occur, a type which is found in many tombs at Fara, notably 532, 562, which Albright [7] assigns to 11th–early 10th centuries.

It is clear that these groups have connection with Enkomi Sol II-I and the L.C. IIIB phase.

[1] *Beth Pelet* I, pl. LXVIII–LXX.

[2] Schaeffer, *E-A.*, fig. 83, 22.

[3] Duncan. *Corpus of Palestinian Pottery.*

[4] Murray, Smith and Walters. *Excavations in Cyprus*, fig. 8.

[5] Coche de la Fèrté. *Essai de classification de la céramique Mycénienne d'Enkomi*, 1951, pl. V.14.

[6] Lapithos 409, 411, 420, 601, *S.C.E.* I, 209, 213, 234, 266; Am. 22, *S.C.E.* II, 119.

[7] *A.J.A.* XXXVI, 300–1.

For the last phase we may look again at Fara Tomb 506, the classic tomb for dating the White Painted I bowl which it contained. A fragment of such a bowl was found on Enkomi Sol I[1]. It may also be noted that the jug in thick, grey-brown polished fabric found in Fara 506 imitates in design the steatite vases and hatched Bucchero jugs found at Enkomi[2]. The red burnished flask also resembles that from Bamboula T. 25[3], a type not previously recorded in Cyprus.

In addition it is also possible to trace the influence of the Proto-White Painted bottle[4]. Two are found in *Kerameikos*[5] in a sub-Mycenean group, whence the type perhaps spread eastward. In Palestine, Furumark places it in his III Philistine group and with the sub-Philistine. At Fara, it is imitated in Tombs 507, 649, and at Gezer, Tombs 59, 84[6]. Several bottles of this form, but in other fabrics, occur at Megiddo, Level VIII–VI, and in the temple group 2048[7]; another comes from Hawam V.[8]

The fruitstand (C.P.P., 17E4) is found in the painted version at Fara in tombs 542 and 615. 542 is a large group and appears to extend over the greater part of the 12th Century; but 615 is a single burial and furnishes good evidence of date. The group contains a late Philistine bowl with confronted spirals, similar to one in 542, a lamp, a bronze bowl with raised foot, an iron earring and a tanged iron knife. Though three XIX Dynasty scarabs were also found they furnish only a *terminus post quem*, while the other objects assign the group to the end of the 12th Century. The Pigadhes fruitstand is close to this example, though the foot is not yet so clearly marked. Earlier Cypriot examples are to be found at Enkomi[9] (as Fig. 1 : 7), and at Apliki[10]; but the Bamboula type appears to belong to the Palestinian series[11].

Mention of the ivories should not be omitted. They are of the finest during the intermediate period before LC III, and the excavations at Kouklia[12] have confirmed the evidence of the old tombs at Enkomi that they belong to this period. Barnett[13] has already suggested that the fine craftsmanship is associated with that of metal work, more abundant in Cyprus at this time than before. He also pointed out that the warrior on the Enkomi mirror handle is armed in the manner of the ' sea-raiders '[14], though other elements are of the mixed Phoenician school. In date they cannot be far from the Megiddo group, some of which must be as late as Ramses III.

[1] Coche. *Class.*, pl. VI : 7.

[2] *ibid.*, pl. V : 15; X : 14, 15.

[3] *A.J.A.* XLI, pl. IV.49.

[4] *Opuscula Arch.* III, fig. 2, 5, 6, 7.

[5] Kraiker and Kubler. *Kerameikos* I, taf. 27.2; 37.3.

[6] C.P.P. 66. W 2, 4, X 2, Y.

[7] *Megiddo* II, pl. 71; 14,15. 73; 9.

[8] *Q.D.A.P.* IV, pl. XVI, 256.

[9] Coche. *Class.*, pl. V. 14.

[10] *A.J.* XXXII, fig. XI, 11, 14.

[11] *Opuscula Arch.* III, 236. E2; *A.J.A.* XLII, fig. 7.2.

[12] *I.L.N.*, May 2, 1953.

[13] *P.E.Q.*, 1939, 7.

[14] *ibid.*, 10, ff.

We have seen that there is now good evidence for the connections of Cyprus with the Palestinian littoral during the intermediate L.C. II-III, and some indication that the settlers on both sides are likely to be the same. But for the actual dating, the evidence is still meagre. The sword in Tomb 18 at Enkomi is related by Schaeffer[1] to the European type II of Naue, one specimen of which bore the cartouche of Seti II. If this date stands, Tomb 18 must have been in use at least until the last decade of the 13th Century; and it may be noted in passing that Professor Wace prefers a lower date, 1210 for the end of Myc. IIIB.[2]

There follows the last occupation of ' Batiment 18 ' with the Close Style pottery; it did not last very long, for, if the burning is ascribed to the ' Peoples of the Sea ', it must have been destroyed in the first quarter of the twelfth century. If this be the case, it is probable that the ' Governor's residence ' at Fara may have been established by the same people, who made, as is frequently the case in Palestine, imitations of the Close Style pottery. Hence it may be suggested that an earlier wave of immigrants reached Cyprus and Palestine, at the same time as those who were entering Egypt with the Libyans, for Merneptah states in the records that they came with their wives and families[3].

For the dating of L.C.IIIA the comparative material indicates that it cannot be earlier than XX Dynasty. It seems clear therefore that the burning of ' Batiment 18 ' at Enkomi may rightly be attributed to the raiders against whom Ramses III fought in Palestine. Fara residence was also burnt at this time.

In the subsequent levels both at Fara and Gemmeh, metalworking and also iron become common. In Cyprus no iron occurs until L.C. IIIA, but other metal objects are common. The towns were rebuilt on a modified scale and the burials are in shaft graves, a type more common in Palestine. The pottery is for the most part plain and uninteresting. Fara Tomb 222 may be attributed to the beginning of this period and the later groups to the end.

L.C. IIIB, as we have seen, includes Bamboula Period II and Idalion II-III, which through the ' wavy-line ' jar, can be equated with the occupation on Sol I. To this may be added some of the pottery from Kaloriziki T. 26A (though the majority of the group is later) and the new tomb 503 from Lapithos[4]. The latter includes a number of types which were not previously found in a reputable archæological context, and to which the name Proto-White-Painted has been given. Furumark discussed their connections with Myc. IIIC.1.c and the Sub-Mycenean; while Dikaios calls them the fore-runners of the Proto-Geometric. The second group of Fara tombs in

[1] Schaeffer, *E-A.*, 337 ff.

[2] *P. Am. Phil. Soc.*, 97, 1953, 424, note 8; cf. Hutchinson, *Antiquity* XXVIII, 155 ff.

[3] Breasted. *A.R.* III, 246.

[4] Gjerstad. *Opuscula Arch.* III, 106, pl. I.

which iron is introduced should probably be associated with L.C. IIIB, carrying the connection forward to C.G.I.

Until the full publication of sites of this period, the matter cannot be usefully discussed further. It would seem however that the post-earthquake level of Sol I at Enkomi should be the determining factor in future between L.C. IIIA and B, and until that date is settled, the dividing line can be placed no nearer than towards the end of the 12th Century B.C.

To sum up, the following table gives a suggested equation for the various sites, as far as can be ascertained on available evidence:—

	Enkomi	Sinda	Dali	Bamboula	Ay Irini	Pigadhes	Apliki
						V	
Myc. IIIB. L.C. IIC	Tomb 18 Sol V						Phase A
Myc. IIIC.1. Intermediate	Batiment 18 Close Style.	I II				VI	Phase B
	Burnt	Burnt			I II	VII	
L.C.IIIA	Sol IV	III	I				
	Sol III			I			
Myc. IIIC.2 L.C.IIIB	Granary Style. Sol II		II–III	II			
Protogeometric C–G.1.	Sol I Wavy-line ware.			III–IV			
					III	VIII	

PALESTINE IN THE ROMAN PERIOD, 63 B.C.—A.D. 324

By G. M. FitzGerald

In 63 B.C. the Seleucid monarchy had finally collapsed, and Pompey had made Syria a Roman Province—Palestine, under the Hasmonean dynasty had long been an independent state; but civil war had broken out between the two sons of Alexander Jannaeus. The elder, Hyrcanus, was High Priest, while the younger, Aristobulus, was the more turbulent and ambitious. Their appeals to the Romans gave Pompey a pretext for intervening and he took the side of Hyrcanus.

Thanks to the conquests of Jannaeus, the Jewish state at that time extended literally from Dan to Beersheba. This territory included a number of non-Jewish cities—amongst them Panias in the north; Dora, Joppa, Gaza on the coast; Scythopolis and Pella in the Jordan Valley; Gerasa, Madaba, etc., further east. These cities were predominantly Greek in culture and language, while the language of the countryside was Aramaic.

Southern Palestine was inhabited by Idumæans, descended from Edomites who had migrated thither after the fall of the Hebrew monarchy. They had been recently conquered and had accepted the Jewish religion, but this did not put them immediately on an equal footing with the Children of Israel. In the former territory of Edom, south and east of the Dead Sea, the Nabataeans, a people said to be of Arabian origin, but whose language was Aramaic, had established a powerful kingdom with their capital at Petra, and soon extended their sway northwards—even as far as Damascus. The source of their wealth was trade; they commanded the caravan routes from Arabia westwards and had been in control of Gaza until the time of Alexander Jannaeus. Needless to say, the warlike and ambitious kings of the Nabataeans were frequently in conflict with their western neighbours—North of Palestine there was now the Roman province of Syria, comprising a number of self-governing cities and the Iturean tribes in the Lebanon district. Further east the powerful Parthian empire was established in Mesopotamia.

When Pompey led his army into Judaea to support Hyrcanus, Aristobulus himself surrendered, and the Roman army was admitted into the City. But the more fanatical partisans of Aristobulus withdrew to the Temple Area and refused to surrender. Pompey's siege, therefore, was not of the whole town, but of the Temple, which was a fortress in itself. When, eventually, it fell, the defenders were massacred—to the number, it is said, of 12,000. (It was a ruthless, blood-thirsty age; but I think we must be cautious about accepting the numbers of casualties in battles and sieges which Josephus, and other ancient historians, record.) Pompey did not destroy or loot the Temple,

but exacted the right, as conqueror, of entering the Holy of Holies. He carried off Aristobulus and his sons to add to the glory of his triumph in Rome, and deported numerous prisoners to be sold into slavery.

As a result of the conquest the Jewish state was reduced to Judea and Galilee, forming, with Iturea and Nabataea one of the three Native States which the Romans permitted to exist. The non-Jewish cities were given independence, but attached to the Province of Syria. Ten of these cities, all of which (except Scythopolis, the ancient Beth-Shan) lay east of Jordan, formed themselves into a league, called the Decapolis, at about this time.

The High Priest Hyrcanus allowed himself to be governed by an astute adviser of Idumean origin, Antipater, a rich man who knew how to make himself useful to the Proconsuls of Syria. One of these, Gabinius (who held office from 57 to 55 B.C.) was obliged to suppress a rising started by one of Aristobulus's sons. After this he divided the country into five districts, each with its separate Council, or Sanhedrin, representing the aristocracy. Gabinius was also active in restoring the ruined cities of his Province—notably Samaria. His successor, Crassus the triumvir—the richest man in Rome—found time to despoil the Temple of gold and silver, to the value (if figures can be trusted) of 10,000 talents, before going to defeat and death at the hands of the Parthians. It was this defeat, at Carrhae (the ancient Harran) that stayed the eastward advance of Rome and left the Parthian kingdom in control of Mesopotamia.

Soon afterwards hostilities broke out between Pompey and Caesar—the Roman Civil War which ended in Pompey's defeat and death. This gave Antipater an opportunity of distinguishing himself—at the head of a contingent, 3,000 strong, in the Syrian army which powerfully aided Caesar to make himself master of Egypt. As a result, Caesar reversed the policy of Gabinius, making Hyrcanus Ethnarch (chief of the Nation) and Antipater Procurator of Judea and a Roman Citizen. Antipater was thus enabled to advance the careers of two of his sons, by appointing the elder, Phasael, Prefect of Jerusalem, and Herod, (the future King) Prefect of Galilee. Herod, though very young, shewed his qualities by energetically suppressing brigandage, and, when accused of tyrannical conduct, by overawing the Sanhedrin in Jerusalem—a body which was antagonistic to Antipater.

Herod rose to power—superseding and eventually exterminating the Hasmonean dynasty—by steadfastly adhering to Rome. His descent debarred him from the office of High Priest, and he had enemies amongst the Pharisees and the partisans of the Hasmoneans. But he made it his business to secure the favour of any party that represented the power of Rome.

After Caesar's death, Herod was foremost in conciliating one of his murderers, the tyrannical Cassius, by paying into his "itching palm" a tribute of 100 talents exacted from the district of Galilee. (This action enabled him to avenge the death by poison of his father Antipater, by obtaining the execution of the murderer). After the victory of Octavian and Mark

Antony at Philippi and the death of Brutus and Cassius in 42 B.C., Herod's political enemies hoped to ruin him; but he was too much for them and succeeded in gaining the confidence of Antony. His opponents were roughly treated and he, with his brother Phasael, obtained an increase of dignity, each being granted the princely title of Tetrarch.

There followed a most critical period in Herod's career. Antony, dallying in Egypt with Cleopatra, neglected the eastern frontier of Syria. The Parthians took the opportunity of invading Judea, in support of the claims of the Hasmonean Antigonus—Mattathias, a son of Aristobulus. A strong faction, opposed to Herod and the Romans, supported Antigonus, who got possession of the Temple and officiated as High Priest and King. After some fighting and a series of negotiations the Parthians carried off Phasael—to his death, and Hyrcanus—to mutilation—by cutting off his ears, thereby making it unlawful for him any longer to hold the office of High Priest.

Herod had to fly for his life; eventually he reached Rome. There the backing of Octavian and Antony helped him on the road to fortune, and the Senate agreed to grant him the title of King of the Jews. The Roman armies drove back the Parthians, but Herod still had to fight hard for his kingdom. In the end he prevailed and laid siege to Antigonus in Jerusalem, which fell after a five-months' siege (in 37 B.C.). Antigonus was beheaded by order of the Roman commander but Herod persuaded his allies not to pillage the city. However, he purged the Sanhedrin, by putting to death 45 of its members (out of a total of 70). Meanwhile he had allied himself to the former dynasty by marrying Mariamne, a grand-daughter of Hyrcanus.

The title of king did not signify complete independence, and for the first seven years of his reign Herod was subject to the control of Mark Antony. He contrived to retain his kingdom in spite of the hostility of Cleopatra. Through her scheming he became involved in a war against the Nabataeans, but this turned to Herod's advantage, as he was disabled from taking any large share in opposing Octavian. So, when Antony and Cleopatra had committed suicide after Octavian's victory of Actium, Herod was able to convince the master of the world—thenceforth Augustus—of his fidelity to Rome—Judea was recognized as an allied kingdom—a sort of protectorate of Rome and it was increased by the addition of Samaria, of Cleopatra's territories round Jericho and of coast towns such as Joppa and Gaza.

Herod's government of his kingdom was, no doubt, efficient, in the sense that it suppressed brigandage and lawlessness. But he was ruthless and almost insanely jealous and suspicious. Of his own family and connexions he put to death, his wife—Mariamne, her brother the young High Priest, the aged Hyrcanus, and, eventually, three of his own sons. (One realises how small a matter the massacre of the Holy Innocents in Bethlehem would seem to such a ruler).

Herod had a great love of splendour, shewn in the innumerable buildings he erected: in Jerusalem, notably, the rebuilding of the Temple, the adjoining

palace-fortress called Antonia, his own palace with its three great towers and a theatre, an amphitheatre and a hippodrome. He also built a monument at the burial-place of Abraham at Hebron. Outside Judea he had no scruples about supporting the pagan cult of Rome and of Augustus (called Sebastos in Greek), as at Samaria, refounded and named Sebaste, at the newly founded seaport of Caesarea, and at Paneas. He also built or embellished numerous palaces and strongholds, and even adorned cities outside his own dominions. The vast expenditure that all this involved seems to have been met, not by any excessive taxation, but largely out of his own resources—acquired by inheritance or by confiscations or by such enterprises as working the imperial mines in Cyprus. Herod's subjects seem to have acquiesced in his rule, though his concessions to paganism and to Greek culture were offensive to the Pharisees.

In accordance with his Will, as modified by Augustus, Herod's dominions, after his death, were divided among his three sons. Archelaus became Ethnarch of Judea and Samaria, Antipas tetrarch of Galilee, and Philip of Trachonitis. But in A.D. 6 Archelaus was deprived of his dominions, which were put under Roman Procurators, subject to the control of the Governor of Syria. The Procurator resided at Caesarea; using the former royal palace as his Praetorium there, as he probably did in Jerusalem when he came up to the great feasts.

The High Priest (nominated by the Procurator) and the Sanhedrin remained the highest authority for internal matters, except that the Procurator alone could pronounce sentence of death—a Roman citizen could always appeal to the Emperor. Death sentences were carried out by soldiers, of whom there was a cohort at Jerusalem, all foreigners, since Jews were exempt from military service. Their religious susceptibilities were respected to the extent that the images on military standards were not displayed in Jerusalem. By attempting to evade this rule Pontius Pilate incurred the hostility of the people. He was procurator in the reign of Tiberius between the years 27 and 37 and governed energetically; but in his time discontent was rife. It was, no doubt, fear of a popular outbreak that led him weakly to consent to the condemnation of Jesus Christ.

After the death of the Emperor Tiberius, Herod Agrippa (a grandson of Herod the Great and Mariamne) by favour of Caligula, and then of Claudius, obtained the succession to the tetrarchy of Trachonitis and that of Iturea, displaced Antipas and was finally granted Judea, thus reuniting his grandfather's kingdom. During his seven years' reign he made himself popular with his Jewish subjects by his zeal for religious observances, though outside Judea he behaved as a normal Hellenistic prince, attending gladiatorial shows and so forth. It was during his reign that the Apostle James the son of Zebedee was martyred and St. Peter thrown into prison.

Agrippa set about building a defensive wall—the so-called Third Wall of Jerusalem—to include the northern suburbs of the city and, with them, in all

probability, the traditional site of Calvary and of the Holy Sepulchre in the garden belonging to Joseph of Arimathea. The building of this wall was interrupted at (or perhaps before) the death of Agrippa. This occurred in the year 44 and thereupon his kingdom became a Roman province, though eventually his son, Agrippa II, was granted the neighbouring tetrarchies, including Tiberias on the Sea of Galilee. This was the Agrippa who sat with the Roman governor, Porcius Festus, to hear St. Paul defend himself—as recorded in chapter XXV of the Acts of the Apostles.

During these years lawlessness increased throughout the Province of Judea and there were frequent outbursts of violence. The great priestly families and the Saducean aristocracy—like Agrippa II and his family—favoured submission to Rome. But among the people there was a faction of extreme nationalists, the Zealots, to whom bands of murderous *Sicarii*—men armed with daggers—might attach themselves. Revolt eventually flared up in Nero's reign (A.D. 66) when riots in Caesarea and Jerusalem were most incompetently dealt with by the Governor Gessius Florus. For a time anarchy reigned—in Jerusalem insurgents captured the Antonia and the Palace and repulsed an army which the governor of Syria brought against them, with heavy loss. Rebel bands seized the fortresses of Machaerus and Masada, while others ranged the countryside, exacting vengeance for terrible massacres of Jews which took place in Caesarea, Damascus, Scythopolis and many other towns that had mixed populations. After a time the revolt was organized by districts—the historian Josephus (without much enthusiasm) taking command in Galilee—where he was much harassed by the extremists of his party. (He was later taken prisoner and went over to the side of the Romans).

It needed a very serious campaign to suppress this revolt; before it was over, Nero and his transient successors of the year 69 were dead and the Roman Commander Vespasian had been acclaimed Emperor. His son Titus, with an army of some 65,000 men, was left to bring the war to a close by the capture of Jerusalem, to which he laid siege in May of the year 70. In spite of the violent rivalry between factions in the city, the defence was obstinate and heroic, the various strong points being bitterly contested. The Antonia was taken and destroyed in July, the Temple stormed and burnt at the end of August; but it was not till September 25th that the conflict ended with the capture of the Palace and the upper town.

The destruction was almost complete; many of the defenders perished, others were enslaved, the seven-branched candlestick and other treasures of the Temple were carried off to be displayed in the triumph of Vespasian and Titus in Rome.

I must now turn to go into a little more detail about Jerusalem and its buildings in the 1st century. Even the Old City, as we now call it, has undergone tremendous changes since that period. The original " City of David " captured from the Jebusites, occupied a narrow ridge, sloping down

from the north between two valleys, the Cedron on the east and that called the Tyropoeon on the west. North of this town Solomon built his palace and the Temple, in an area which needed strong fortifications against attack from the higher ground at its northern end. At a later date (possibly under the earlier monarchy, or perhaps not until the Hasmonean period) the high ground on the west side of the Tyropoeon was enclosed within the city. Its north wall, running eastward, from the angle which Herod subsequently fortified, to the Temple Area, is called the First Wall. Later on, the Second Wall joined the same north-western angle to the towers that protected the Temple from the north.

There has been much debate as to how this Second Wall ran; all I will say now is that no compelling evidence has been produced to prove that the traditional site of the Crucifixion was enclosed within it. If it were so, one would be compelled to abandon the tradition.

The course of the Third Wall also (the one which Agrippa I began) is debatable. It certainly included suburbs north of the Temple Area, and may have been on the line of the present north wall. Mr. R. W. Hamilton, who made soundings for the Department of Antiquities at the foot of the west tower of the Damascus Gate and at other points, saw no evidence for a wall on this line earlier than the time of Christ; but he considered that the masonry, and finds in the debris, pointed to building in, perhaps, the Byzantine period, re-using some masonry of the Herodian style in the lowest courses. Père Vincent, however, attributes this masonry to the building of the wall under Agrippa I. Traces of yet another wall further north have been accepted by many authorities as remains of the Third Wall, but Père Vincent regards them as unworthy of Agrippa's ambitions, and probably to be accounted for as defences hastily raised during the Second Jewish Revolt.

One great difference between ancient Jerusalem and the city of to-day is the filling-up, in the course of ages, of the central valley running between the Temple Area and the upper city on the western hill. When Pompey besieged the Temple it was protected by a steep slope on its western side as well as on the south and east. Besiegers were obliged to attack the " Baris " or citadel north of the area.

Herod's rebuilding of the Temple and its appurtenances involved enormous labour. He greatly extended the area, and owing to the slope of the ground the foundations had to be of immense depth, especially at the southern corners, to reach bedrock.

As it now stands nothing remains of the actual Temple buildings, but we have here a view of the wonderfully impressive esplanade with the exquisite " Dome of the Rock " on the Temple site, and the mosque El Aqsa at the south.

There was one gateway at the east, two at the south; on the west side there were four, of which two at least were connected to the upper town by arches bridging the north-south valley street. Surrounding the area were

porticoes, the one at the south forming a basilica, with a double row of columns. There were successive enclosures with flights of steps and partitions between them; an outer court to which Gentiles had access, one court for women, one called "of the Israelites," another for the priests, in which stood the great altar of sacrifice. The Temple building containing the candlestick and altar of incense, and divided by curtains from the inner Holy of Holies, stood to a height of 100 cubits and was 100 cubits wide at its front, facing east. Jews of the diaspora had always contributed largely to the Temple treasury and the buildings were beautified by gifts from abroad—Josephus gloried in describing the gorgeous gates, likening the decoration of gold with white stone to a snow-covered mountain.

When Herod as king recovered Jerusalem from the young Antigonus he enlarged the fortress which stood at the north-west of the present area into a sumptuous palace, which he named Antonia after his then patron Mark Antony. A paved expanse, which is still to be seen, has been identified with the Lithostrôton of the praetorium of Pilate, but there are good reasons for thinking that the Praetorium would have been the palace that Herod built, later, in the upper city.

This view, taken from the Mount of Olives, shows the high ground north and west, lying over against the Temple like a theatre, as Josephus puts it.

This shows more of the southern wall, with some of the drafted masonry typical of the period. One must remember how greatly the valley has been filled up on the west.

Another view, with the Mount of Olives in the backbround, showing how the ground slopes southward (with part of the present town wall in the foreground).

This Greek inscription is one that must have been a familiar sight to all who frequented the Temple in the first century. It is one of the tablets warning Gentiles not to trespass beyond the outer court: "No foreigner to pass the balustrade into the enclosure. If one is caught there he will incur the penalty of death."

I have already mentioned Herod's palace in the upper city. It was a building of great magnificence and included three towers at the northwest angle of the First Wall, on the site of the present Citadel. He named them Mariamne, Phasael and Hippicus, after his wife, his brother and a friend. The base of one (miscalled the Tower of David, but probably Phasael) 40 cubits square and the same in height, remains to show courses of typical Herodian masonry. Some of this masonry was brought to light by excavations in the Citadel during the period of the Palestine mandate. Titus left the three towers standing after the fall of Jerusalem.

The last of the Jewish strongholds to resist capture was Masada, which held out till the year 73. It stands on an isolated rock that rises abruptly 1,000 feet above the plain west of the Dead Sea. Herod replaced a small Maccabean fortress by a walled palace, with immense cisterns and store

houses. (Recent excavations were described and pictured in the " Illustrated London News " in November last). One singular feature is the imitation of masonry in plaster on rock walls. We have here a round tower (seen from above) on the northern spur, with a view over the plain below, in which the square plan of a Roman siege camp can be distinguished.

This view of the southern end shows the huge mound which the Romans built up against the side of the fortress—as the only possible means of capturing it. The zealots, or sicarii, who had seized the place at the beginning of the Revolt obstinately refused to surrender, and when the Romans finally broke in they found that every man of the garrison, 960 in all, had committed suicide. Here was a masked stairway leading from one terrace in the rock of Masada to another.

After the destruction of the year 70 the headquarters of the 10th Legion (Legio Decima Fretensis) were established in Jerusalem, which became a camp rather than a town. The Temple ritual of prayer and sacrifice ceased —its site was a heap of ruins. Nevertheless a certain number of the former inhabitants remained, or returned, with Jews and Christians amongst them. It is said that there were seven synagogues as well as the Christian church. Pilgrims came to visit the Holy City where the spectacle of desolation must have inflamed their resentment. The contribution which Jews had paid to the Temple was diverted to the god of triumphant Rome, Jupiter Capitolinus—a tax rigorously levied, in Domitian's reign, on all those who had been circumcised.

In the year 105, under the Emperor Trajan, the Romans occupied Petra and put an end to the Nabataean kingdom. Its territory became the Province of Arabia, with its capital at Bostra, which was connected by a great Roman road with the Red Sea. Trajan pushed forward against the Parthians, but his victorious campaign did not effect a lasting conquest of Mesopotamia.

Towards the end of Trajan's reign, in 116, the Jews of Cyrene, Egypt and some other provinces organized a revolt. In Palestine it was repressed by the stern measures of the legate, a Moorish chieftain called Lusius Quietus. It is probable that he erected a statue of Trajan on the site of the Temple, but Hadrian, soon after he became emperor in 117, put Quietus to death, and the statue may then have been removed.

Hadrian, who was a great traveller, was in Palestine in 130. If ever the Jews hoped for a restoration under his auspices, they were sorely disappointed. He was strongly phil-Hellene and his policy was to exalt the Olympian Zeus and the Capitoline Jupiter—he set up a temple of Zeus amongst the Samaritans, on Mount Garizim. When it became clear, in 132, that Hadrian intended to found a pagan town—a " colonia "—on the site of Jerusalem, a violent revolt broke out. Large forces, and three years of warfare, were needed to suppress it. The leader was a man named Shimeon ben Kosebah —as we now know from a letter recently discovered in the Murabba'at

caves—but those of his followers who were disposed to hail him as Messiah called him Bar Kokheba, meaning Son of the Star.

He got possession of Jerusalem and fortified it to some extent—possibly with the northernmost wall, of which traces remain. He made it possible for one Eleazar to officiate as High Priest; he coined silver and bronze pieces in his name—Simon, Prince of Israel. However, the revolutionaries could not indefinitely withstand the Roman legions, Jerusalem was retaken and the war ended with the capture of Bittir in 135.

Hadrian was then able to carry out his intention of founding his new Colonia, inaugurating it with Roman rites and naming it Aelia Capitolina, by a combination of the name of his own Gens Aelia with that of the Jupiter of Rome. Its plan followed the model of a military camp, with a main street (which was lined with columns) running north to south, crossed by another street at right angles.

Apparently there was no fortification wall round Aelia till much later, but at the eastern entrance there stood a monumental archway, part visible to-day in the street, part standing in a chapel. From its proximity to the supposed Praetorium of Pilate (the Antonia) it is known as the "*Ecce Homo*" Arch. The northern boundary of Aelia was probably the line of the present wall—and so perhaps of Agrippa's wall—with the columned Cardo Maximus running south from the Damascus Gate.

The Church of the Holy Sepulchre stands within the bounds of Aelia, and Christian tradition tells of a pagan temple upon the place of the Resurrection. Whether the motive was hostility to Christianity or merely the convenience of the situation, it seems that the forum and the capitol, with its triad of Roman deities, may have been erected at this point in the town; a statue of the Emperor being set up where the Jewish temple had stood. The town, which included the camp of the Tenth Legion, was endowed with the normal municipal institutions and such amenities as baths, a theatre, and so on. No Jews were permitted to enter Aelia or even to dwell in Judea.

For the following two centuries the province, renamed Syria Palaestina, played an inconspicuous part in the history of the Roman Empire in a period of decline. It is needless to enlarge on the frequent wars, aggressive or defensive, against Parthia, or Persia, or Palmyra, or to follow the succession of emperors in their struggles for power.

The history of the Holy Land seems to demand that more attention should be paid to Judaism and to Christianity. I began this paper by pointing out that I could not hope to deal with more than one small facet of Church history, but there are some material remains concerning the synagogue to which we can now turn our attention.

This inscription, from Jerusalem, carries us back to the first century, or perhaps the reign of Herod, and is the earliest known synagogue inscription in Palestine. It records the building by one Theodotus, son of Ouettênos

of a synagogue for reading the Law and teaching the commandments, with a hostel and rooms and a water supply (perhaps cisterns or baths) for the use of people from abroad, which synagogue was founded by his forebears and by the Elders and Simonides. Theodotus is described as a priest and, like his father and grandfather, an Archisynagogus—a not very exalted official, usually a layman. The father's name may represent the Latin Vettienus, if so he might have been a freedman—possibly one who had been taken prisoner in 63 B.C. The Elders would be members of the Sanhedrin, or Council.

At about the date of this inscription, under the Procurators, there seem to have been two Councils, the Sanhedrin with political and magisterial functions and the Beth Din or religious Council which met in the Temple precincts, both of 70 members and the High Priest—unless they are only two aspects of the same body. In the Sanhedrin there were two main parties, one being that of the Sadducees, who were well disposed to Greek culture and a worldly outlook, and who were represented by the aristocratic Elders and the chief priestly families. The other party, the Pharisees, represented by the Scribes, were more rigorously orthodox and nationalist and consequently had greater influence on the people. The office of High Priest was usually held by a member of one of a few families, such as that of Annas the father-in-law of Caiaphas. In some instances a brief tenure of the office might be welcome, as it conferred prestige but involved an arduous way of life.

The destruction of Jerusalem in 70 brought the political Sanhedrin to an end, and these great families lost their influence. The religious Sanhedrin established at Jamnia by Johanan ben Zaccai came to be accepted as the Beth-Din, the authority on matters relating to ritual and the Law. Under the presidency of distinguished patriarchs of the family of Hillel (a great teacher of the time of Herod) it won recognition by the Roman government. There was a gradual relaxation of Hadrian's harshest decrees after the Second Revolt. Antoninus Pius revoked the prohibition of circumcision in favour of the Jews and the Council was permitted to assemble under the Nasi, or Patriarch, Simeon.

The place of assembly was moved from town to town in Galilee—it is said that " the Beth-Din went on ten journeys before it settled at last in Tiberias ".

Though the Jews had, many of them, taken the losing side in a revolt against Marcus Aurelius in 175 and again in favour of Septimius Severus's rival, Niger, yet under Severus and his worthless son Caracalla they enjoyed a period of prosperity. The Nasi Rabbi Judah—the compiler of the collection of traditional teaching called the Mishnah—possessed great prestige. He was familiar with Greek culture and recognised the material benefits of Roman government, such as the great work of road-making and bridge-building in the eastern provinces under the Antonines and Severus. The favourable status of the Jews was maintained until the conversion of the Empire to Christianity in the 4th century, when fresh problems arose.

Several synagogues of which vestiges remain in Galilee can be dated to the late second, or early third, century. One of these is the synagogue of Capernaum which belongs to this period (it cannot be as early as the time of Christ).

One should mention that the Ark containing the Scroll of the Law at Capernaum stood against the south wall, blocking the original main doorway. The later (Byzantine period) buildings have an apse for the Ark. Other features of interior furnishing were the Candlestick (not necessarily two), the Lectern and a seat (the Chair of Moses) for one of the Elders, with its back to the South. The sculptured cornices from Capernaum show that at this period there was no objection to pictorial representation. There are, of course, countless examples of such things in synagogues. From time to time there may have been greater strictness in interpreting the prohibition of images. The wheeled vehicle is (very doubtfully) interpreted as the Carruca, which it was a privilege—possessed by the Patriarch—to drive in.

The best preserved synagogue ruin is Kefr Birim. At Beth Shearim, in Galilee, which was the seat of the Sanhedrin under Rabbi Judah, and probably his burial place—a most interesting series of Jewish tombs has been excavated by the Hebrew University. (Only a fortnight ago the "Illustrated London News" published an article on these finds, with a splendid lot of photographs). The burials are in artificial caves, large chambers cut in the rock. Jews from many parts of the diaspora were buried at Beth Shearim, various communities or families having their own catacombs.

There are numerous funerary inscriptions in Hebrew or in Greek. This Greek inscription (incised and coloured red) says: "Whosoever removes this woman, He who raises up and gives life to the dead will judge him." It is interesting as evidence of faith in the resurrection of the dead and the last judgment—in accordance with the teaching of the Pharisees.

The Christian Church before the Byzantine period has left few, if any, vestiges in Palestine. There is, however, one point that I would wish to touch on, namely, the tradition concerning the site of Calvary and the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem.

It is true that there is an archaeological side to the question. Excavation may one day make it impossible to hold that at the date of the Crucifixion the traditional site lay outside the city wall of that day—the so-called Second Wall.

In the meantime one ought to bear in mind a fact, often ignored, that Eusebius, with earlier authorities available to him, claims for Jerusalem and Aelia a church and a succession of bishops beginning with St. James the Less, one of the family of Jesus Christ, and only broken in the sense that before the Second Revolt they are said to be "of Circumcision," that is of the Judaeo-Christian element, whereas Bishop Mark and his successors at Aelia were not so. But there is no reason to suppose that a short interval of time need break a tradition which one would naturally expect to be faithfully handed down.

ANTIQUITIES IN THE MOUNTAINS OF JUDAH
I. THE KHIRBET MĀSI

By Julius Jotham-Rothschild

South of Bāb el-Wād, hardly a kilometer distant from the old wayside inn at a corner where a track branches off the Jerusalem-Tel Aviv highway towards Beit Maḥsir (now called Beth Mëir), in the Wādi Masāyā a group of ruins can be seen which the Arabs called *khirbet māsi* (خربه مازى). I saw them first in 1949 when on an excursion across the mountains but had no time for a close examination as it was late in the afternoon and I had to return to Jerusalem. My chance came two years later when on a tour to inspect some important sites on behalf of the government. Since then I have visited these ruins several times and was able to make a survey of the site which I consider the most interesting and most ancient of the whole area. Many may have passed that spot before my time paying no attention to these ruins, others may have stopped their car to gather figs from the big fig-trees in the shadow of which the ruins lie hidden. These trees are obviously holy trees planted by pious Moslims centuries ago as they always did in places they considered holy or haunted by spirits.

The site of *khirbet māsi* has been mapped by the former Palestine Government in 1918 and again in 1931–33 and found to be 325 metres above sea-level. As they seemed so unimportant to the uninitiated they were neither examined nor excavated. In fact of the more than hundred and seventy known antique sites in the western and southern district of Jerusalem only the seemingly most important have been excavated, like Gezer, Beth Shemesh, Lachish, Tell Judeideh, Tell Beit Mirsim, Tell Sandahanna, etc., but the majority of the tells and antique sites still await examination which takes time and needs considerable sums of money which, at the present time, are not forthcoming.

The preservation of these sites is the duty of the government. Future generations will be thankful if no wanton damage has been done and no damage caused by those responsible for building new settlements. Fortunately nature itself takes care and covers year after year the remains of remote periods with layers of sand, soil and seeds so that they, in the course of time, become invisible to the human eye. What however remains is the name. In most cases the original name of those ruined settlements has been forgotten, having been replaced by an Arabic name which furnishes in most cases no clue as to who built and inhabited a certain place in the past. Sometimes the original name is found in a garbled form as for instance the name *khirbet zānū*, the Biblical Zanoah which is situated east of the 'Artuf-

Beit Jibrin road, but whether the *khirbet yarmuk* or the *khirbet marmita* is the site of the Biblical Jarmuth (Josh. xv, 35, etc.) is still a matter of conjecture as often the *Onomastica* and the actual name of the site contradict each other. How difficult it is to fix a historic place to a certain site with a least some certainty can be seen from a few examples which I mention hereunder.

There is for instance an antique site west of Jerusalem called the *khirbet el hammāmā*, *i.e.*, the ruin of the pigeons. It is in fact strewn with remains dating from the EBA. The Arabic name just refers to pigeons which at some time may have nested in the ruins or in the trees nearby.

There is a *khirbet ʿain el-tūt*—the ruin of the mulberry tree near a spring, the *khirbet el-lauz*—the ruin of the almond tree, the *khirbet el khanazīr*—the ruin of the (wild) pigs, the *khirbet umm esh-shommār*—the ruin of the fennel, the *khirbet el-baṣal*—the ruin of the onions, the *khirbet er-rās*—the ruin of the summit, etc. There are ruins of the crows, of the myrrh-plant, of the grouse, of the lion and even of the insane and the swindler. Other Arabic names refer to certain characteristics of a ruin, architectural or otherwise, as for instance the *khirbet el-qaṣr*—the ruin of the castle, *khirbet el-ʿumdān*—the ruin of the columns and the *khirbet umm el-daraj*—the ruin with many steps. *Khirbet el-khān* refers of course to a ruined caravanserai and *khirbet el-burj* to a ruined stronghold. A ruined *maqām* in most cases gives the name of a certain Moslem saint buried inside, also called a *wēly* (*Sheikh Badr*, *Sheikh Jadir*, *Sheikh ʿAmr*, *Sheikh Ghāzi*, *Sheikh Mahmūd*, *Sheikh ʿAli*, *Sheikh Meizar* etc.) but even these names are not reliable as often the name of a *wēly* appears in different places. There are at least two *maqām* named after *Sheikh Abreiq*, two after *Sheikh Meizar* and numerous *Sheikh Misqīn*, saints adopted by different villages.

More difficult is it to differentiate between *deir* (دير)—monastery and *dār* (دار)—house or hamlet. So it happens that the appellative *deir*, or *dēr* is often referred to a house and *dār* to a ruined monastery or nunnery and *vice versa*. The *khirbet deir el-banāt* are in fact the ruins of a Crusader nunnery east of Abu Ghosh, but at *deir el-hawa*, *deir el-butm* and *deir sallām* no traces of monastic buildings can be found.

S. Klein recognized in the *khirbet khatula* the name of a Jewish village mentioned in the Talmud (חטולים) others see in the *khirbet es say-yagh* the Lechi (לחי) of Judges XV, 15, as there is a similarity to the Greek σιαγών which means of course Jawbone.

The *khirbet māsi*, which I am going to describe, falls into the same category, as no correct translation of the name *māsi* can be found. I consulted several Arabs, learned men who command the Arab language perfectly, each of them furnished a different explanation. Some believe *māsi* (ماسى) to mean a tyrant, or a hero, a man gifted with exceptional strength, others found no answer as to its meaning and believe that *māsi* is not Arabic. If in fact it can be translated "hero" does it refer to Samson whose tomb must be sought somewhere in the vicinity? Zorah (*Ṣar'a*) his birthplace is only five

kilometres farther south and there is a faint possibility that *māsi* may commemorate his name.

What is certain is that the ruins of *māsi* date from a very remote time. Of this I was certain when I saw them first. That I was right is confirmed by travellers who saw and examined similar ruins elsewhere but to this I shall come further down.

The ruins are situated in an area covering roughly 7,500 square metres, or 7·5 dunams forming a triangle of which one side runs along the present Jerusalem-Tel Aviv road, the second along the track which leads to Beit Mahsir and the third along the foot of the biblical Mount Seir (שעיר)[1]. At this spot met the boundaires of Judah, Ephraim and Dan (fig. 1).

FIG. 1.

Seen from a strategic point of view the *khirbet māsi* seem to have guarded not only the ancient road Beersheba—Lachish—Azeka—Beth Shemesh—Jerusalem via Kirjath-Jearim but also its continuation to Gezer-Lydda and the north. In the east Mount Seir protected the settlement and was probably provided with a watchtower. In connection with these facts it is interesting to note that the Ark of the Covenant must have passed this place when carried to the battlefield of Eben Ezer-Aphek and when it was returned by the Philistines and brought to Kirjath-Jearim and thence to Jerusalem (I Sam. vi, 15–21. vii, 1–2). A very old track which is no more used, bordered with boulders, can still be seen climbing the hill behind *khirbet māsi* towards a point where I suppose the watchtower stood, mentioned before.

The seventeen ruins of *khirbet māsi* (fig. 2) are built of dry masonry with stones, more or less uniform in size, picked up in the neighbouring fields. They were, as can be seen, carefully selected according to size so that interstices could be avoided. The walls are well built and show a slight

[1] Sëir means a "tuft of hair" (in Arabic شَعَر) and refers to groups of trees standing on a height. Such a group of trees can still be seen north-east of Beit Mahsir near the maqām of *esh-sheikh Ahmad el-Ajami;* Shushe (شُوشَة) has the same meaning.

batter towards the crown as can be seen from ruin *e* (figs. 2 and 5) the best preserved. The ruins are not uniform in plan, some are circular, some roughly square others are built in the shape of a spiral. Some show a combination of square rooms and circular ones whereby the circular rooms are attached to the square ones. Some ruins are irregular in shape, being triangular and crossed by yet another wall. The largest of the ruins consists of three rooms (fig. 2*a*) with an entrance in the corner of the uppermost. Very peculiar in plan are the ruins *e*, *n*, *g* and *q* of fig. 2, the best preserved

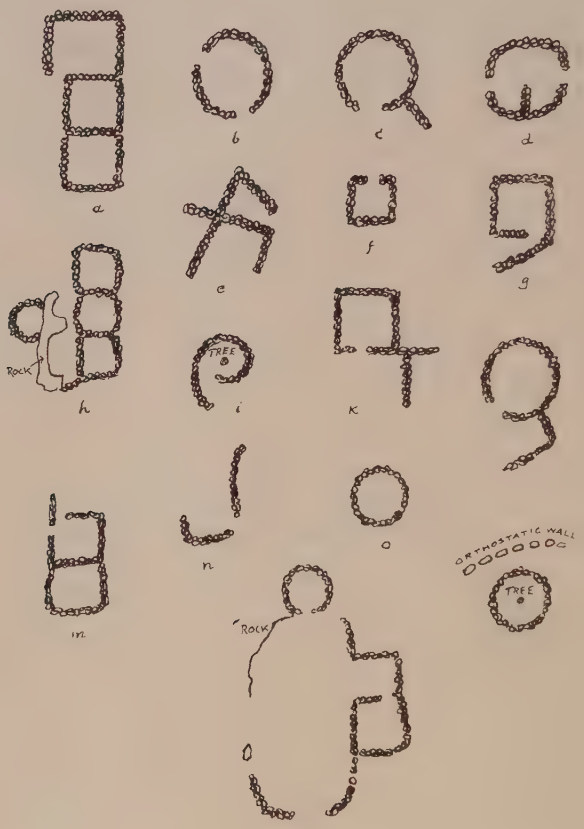


FIG. 2.

being the ruins *b*, *c*, *o* and *p*, the latter two seeming to have retained their original height namely 1·70 metres. In the centre of ruins *i* and *p* the aforementioned holy fig-trees can be seen. The Arabs used to shun such places as *khirbet māsi* as they believed them to be haunted by the spirits of the departed and planted the trees to prevent them from visiting their villages. Very often such ruins served as hiding places for robbers especially when they were situated near a highway.

Some of the circular ruins have a low and narrow entrance formed by two posts and a lintel (Pl. v, fig. 1) these entrances are in the average 0·70 metres high and 0·60 metres wide, exactly as the entrances we find in antique rock-cut Jewish tombs but some of the ruins have only a gap left in the wall through which the people entered. This is especially the case with the spiral-shaped ruin where the gap is nearly two metres wide.

The ruins vary in size. Whilst the ruin *q* (fig. 2) covers an area of about 57·5 square metres, the others vary from 16 square metres to only 3·5 square metres. Unequal also are the distances at which the huts were built, the longest distance from ruin to ruin being 17 metres.

Of all the now ruined stone-huts ruin *c* (figs. 2 and Pl. v, fig. 3) is by far the best preserved, measuring 1·75 metres in height, originally it was probably two metres high. This height must also be presumed for all other ruins. The average thickness of the walls is 0·40 to 0·50 metres. On the wall inside ruin *q* (fig. 2) I found traces of plaster with a light pink coating. It consists, like ruin *h*, of three rooms.

Only a few potsherds I picked up at various points of the built-up area, black Gaza ware and a few Hellenistic (import) sherds, all of no importance. North of and close to ruin *p* (figs. 2 and Pl. v, fig. 4) a megalithic wall, some 10 metres long, can be seen and a similar one somewhat farther north both running in an east-western direction, they probably belonged to stone-circles. The boulders of which the walls were built are in the average one metre high and broad.

At the southern end of the area close to ruin *h* (fig. 2) I discovered a flat rock of irregular shape. Its length is approximately 11 metres, its breadth 8·60 metres. It slopes slightly to the west showing a sharp vertical edge which looks as if cut by hammer and chisel. There is a cave at its north-western corner some six metres long. Its height I was unable to measure as it is filled up with soil which the rain has swept in during many centuries but I should estimate it as being about two metres. It seems to have been a natural cave which has been widened by the hand of man at some unknown time. On the surface of the rock a number of cup-marks (*cupulæ*) can be seen, amongst them a round one (Pl. v, fig. 5) with a diameter of 0·40 metres and a depth in the centre of 0·24 metres. At a distance of about one metre twin basins have been cut from the rock (Pl. v, fig. 6) fairly square with round edges. The uppermost is 0·08 metres Q deep the lower 0·15 metres. South of these basins there is yet another *cupula* cut from the rock in the shape of a shovel (fig. 6) its bottom slightly sloping towards the west. Whilst at the upper end it is 0·10 metres deep it slopes to the west where its depth is 0·27 metres. Here in the centre a round channel can be seen which pierces the rock at a depth of about eight centimetres. It is 0·33 metres long, slopes towards the edge where its vent is about one metre above the ground. Any liquid poured into the basin would flow along the channel and thence on to the ground. This rock with its various cup-marks and basins must have served as an

altar for libations used by the people which occupied this site in antiquity.

The actual purpose for which these cup-marks have been carved from the rock is still a matter of conjecture. Some scholars, like K. Galling, doubt the common assumption that they served sacred purposes but believe that people used them to press the juice out from olives and grapes to drink it on the spot. This opinion I am unable to share as it has no sense. If someone wants to press juice from olives, grapes or other fruit for immediate consumption he does not need to undertake such a difficult job as to carve in an elaborate manner cup-marks and shallow basins from a hard rock when he (or she) can use any vessel, a bowl or a plate. In fact all the cup-marks I and others found in the country are on or near tombs. We see them on dolmens, on single rocks or near sacred sites. In Transjordan more than four hundred were found on one flat rock. There is a cup-mark close to the Lion's Cave in the Mamillah cemetery of Jerusalem near to the cliff which forms the western wall of a forecourt where traces of a destroyed tomb can be seen and another one on a fairly high rock at the *khirbet el-hammāma* west of Jerusalem where there is a cave similar to that of *khirbet māsi* close by. But they are also found on the surface of rock-altars like that of Sarʿa and elsewhere. As always the Bible provides the best evidence for their sacred purpose for libations were common even in pre-Israelite times (Gen. xxviii, 18; xxxv, 14; I Sam. VII, 6; II Sam. xxiii, 16, etc.) How persistent such ancient customs survive the centuries can be seen when visiting a Moslim grave yard. Here also we find cup-marks on the surface of tombstones between the head and the foot-stone.

Their existence has been explained in different ways. Some believe that by pouring water into the cup-marks the pious Moslim tries to communicate with the departed; others think that they were simply arranged by bird loving people to please the birds, to provide a place where they can drink. This is of course absurd, as a simple bowl filled with water would serve the same purpose. The fact remains that the cup-marks we find in great numbers in the country served indeed sacred purposes and that they are closely connected with a very ancient belief that the dead wants from time to time water. A bowl filled with water was placed near the body (and even food) when Jewish burials took place in *kokhim* (and I found many of such earthen vessels inside the *kokhim* which had not yet been disturbed by treasure hunters). To pour out water from the window when a case of death occurred was an ancient Jewish custom and also to empty all vessels containing water in a Jewish home when a member of the family had died. This was done to prevent the soul (which was feared) remaining in the house. There is also a possibility that water was poured into a cup-mark in times when the long expected rain did not come, when people were in despair looking to the skies for relief..

The ruins of *khirbet māsi*, the first of this peculiar kind I ever saw, I was unable to explain. Literary evidences are very scarce and I relied on G.

Dalman[1] and Dr. T. Canaan[2] until enlightment came from a quite different source, E. H. Palmer's *The Desert of the Exodus*[3].

G. Dalman and T. Canaan both agree that these stone-huts are Bedawi tombs or funeral monuments of Bedawi sheikhs. They do not mention the *khirbet māsi* which they probably never saw, nor do they say where similar buildings exist. The Arabs of the neighbouring villages I could not consult as they had left the country and so had my old friend Dr. T. Canaan, an expert on Arab customs. I could hardly agree with both as I had seen many Bedawi tombs and cemeteries in all parts of the country but never one similar to *khirbet māsi*. To be sure that they are tombs I should have excavated at least one but this was impossible. All Bedawi tombs I had seen were without any embellishment, the tombs simply marked by a line of stones in an oval shape and nothing else. The oldest I saw were marked by a *rujm* or *tumulus*, stones heaped up over the grave forming an irregular cone, or neatly arranged in the shape of an oblong of dry masonry. As nomads the Bedawi pay little attention to tombs, they even often fail to mark them especially in the desert where there is sometimes no stone to be found.

G. Dalman was told that the low and narrow entrances were arranged to allow the spirit of the departed to leave its tomb from time to time to visit its family or a nearby tree or a well to drink water. Another version given was that the departed likes a visitor to creep through the door of the tomb as a sign of devotion and veneration.

All these tales are of course without foundation.

The fact is that these circular (fig. 3) or square stone-huts are primeval

Fig. 3.

dwellings erected by a nomadic people in remote times, E. H. Palmer found them in great numbers in the Wādi Wutāh in the Sinai peninsula, in the Wādi Waāra, in the Wādi Feirān and in the Wādi Biyār. He discovered also

[1] *Palaestina Jahrbuch.* 1908–1910.

[2] *Mohammedan Saints and Sanctuaries in Palestine.* 1927.

[3] Cambridge: Deighton, Bell, and Co. 1871.

some in the Negev where they appear single and in groups. No others are mentioned by travellers coming up from the Araba. The *khirbet māsi* are exactly as those described by E. H. Palmer and now we can be sure that they were built and inhabited by the same people.

The Arabs of the Sinai peninsula called them *nawāmis* (mosquito houses) or *gūsūr* (castles). In Palestine and Transjordan they were called *huweitiyeh* (enclosure خَوَيطَ), or *mahattāt* (camping grounds, stations). Palmer was told by the Bedawi of Sinai that, according to their tradition, these stone-huts were built by an unknown people crossing the peninsula and the Negev, at an unknown time, on their trek to the north in order to find shelter from a plague of mosquitoes, which would well explain the low and narrow entrances. He excavated some of these stone-huts inside and found them to contain skeletons buried in a doubled-up position, head and knees meeting. In some he found cists covered with heavy boulders, charred wood and a number of flint arrow-heads. There were also the remnants of hearths in the centre of the room which confirm the fact that they were inhabited. To the Bedawi they were mysterious buildings, they considered them sacred and therefore buried their dead on top of the original burial. Unfortunately E. H. Palmer does not mention whether he found cup-marks or pottery which would have helped greatly to fix the period to which the *nawāmis* belong with more exactitude. As we have some evidence from the cup-marks at *khirbet māsi* and the pipe-like channel piercing the rock which could not have been cut with flint implements I should date the ruins as belonging to the Chalcolithic age or even somewhat later. Professor Dorothy A. E. Garrod dates the cup-marks she found before the Mughāret el-Wād to the Mesolithic period but at *khirbet-māsi* copper or bronze implements must have been used as is evident from the hardness of the rock and the elaborate manner in which these *cupulæ* have been worked out.

Another point worth a discussion is: who built these huts and when? As I have already mentioned Mr. E. H. Palmer found these huts, the *nawāmis*, all along the route he was travelling, from the Sinai peninsula to the Negev. There may be more in Transjordan which, unfortunately, I cannot visit. But there they are again in the foot-hills of the Mountains of Judah. Were they built by the Israelites during their exodus from Egypt?

They resemble in fact the *succoth* mentioned in Ex. XVI and Lev. XXIII, 42 and were probably covered with the branches of trees growing in the desert. If this my hypothesis is not too far-fetched then we have in the *khirbet māsi* the only existing monuments built by the Israelites of the Exodus.

FIG. 1.

FIG. 2.

FIG. 3.

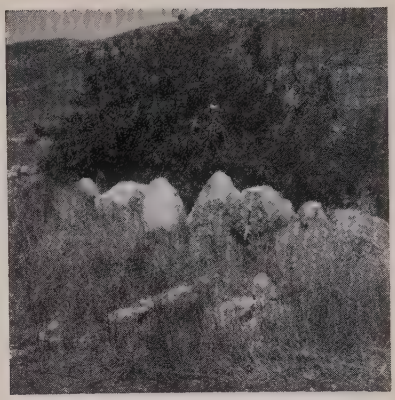


FIG. 4.

FIG. 5.

FIG. 6.

CORRESPONDENCE

SIR,

I deeply regret that in my note on the late Sir Ronald Storrs in the last number of the *Quarterly* I gave wrongly the four great books on which he lectured. They were The Bible; Shakespeare; Dante; and Homer, and in that order. He was too a great lover of Horace, but he did not consider him one of the supreme four.

Yours truly,
NORMAN BENTWICH.

22*nd February*, 1956.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES

The Arabic Manuscripts of Mount Sinai. By Aziz Suryal Atiya. Pp. 97, 16 plates. 11¼ in. Baltimore: The John Hopkins Press. 1955. U.S.$7.50.

The fame of the Monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai first burst upon the world with the discovery of the *Codex Sinaiticus*, which the Soviet Government sold to the British Museum in 1933 for £100,000. During the past century a number of expeditions have been made to the somewhat inaccessible site; perhaps the best known was that made by Mrs. Lewis and Mrs. Gibson, which brought to light the *Codex Syriacus* and revealed the presence in the Monastery of valuable Arabic manuscripts. Finally, in 1948, the University of California African Expedition, at the instance of Dr. Henry Field and Professor W. F. Albright, set forth from its field headquarters in the Egyptian Faiyum " to investigate the possibility of microfilming the priceless library ". The volume under review is the firstfruits of that initiative; it is the first volume of the Publications of the American Foundation for the Study of Man. Its standard of production is not unworthy of so impressive a title.

The sub-title more closely defines the scope of the book, " A hand-list of the Arabic manuscripts and scrolls microfilmed at the library of the Monastery of St. Catherine, Mount Sinai ". The author of the hand-list is the eminent Egyptian historian, Aziz Suryal Atiya. A foreword has been contributed by Dr. Wendell Phillips, President of the American Foundation for the Study of Man. The total number of documents listed is as follows: 696 codices, 1,067 scrolls. With very few exceptions, the codices are of Christian books, not a few of a great antiquity—for example, four books of

the Old Testament (in Arabic) from the 9th century, three Pentateuchs of the 10th century, a copy of the Gospels dated A.D. 897, three other copies of the Gospels equally ancient, a copy of Epistles and Acts dated A.D. 867, and a remarkable quintuple palimpsest (Syriac, Greek and Arabic) of which the bottom layer, the Syriac, is " certainly not later than the fifth century ". Almost all the codices are as old as or older than the 13th century, and the collection thus clearly constitutes a most valuable source for the study of Christian Arabic literature. Scarcely less important, at all events to the historian, is the immense range of scrolls—decrees, firmans, treaties, deeds and other legal documents and miscellanea. The hand-list is enriched with plates of the highest quality illustrating some of the most interesting items.

To organise, carry through and print the results of this expedition must have been extremely expensive and it is a cheerful commentary on the possibilities still existing in this materialistic age that American funds were made available for the execution of this strictly scholarly project. All concerned are to be heartily congratulated on what they have achieved. If the hand-list is not perfect—why no reference to Graf, for instance ?—it is for all that a fine piece of work. The book itself is a splendid addition to any library.

A. J. ARBERRY.

The Committee have to acknowledge with thanks the following:—

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OBITUARY

SIR DAVID RUSSELL

Sir David Russell, who died on May 12th, 1956 at the age of 82, was not a professional archaeologist, and indeed his business interests as Managing Director of an important paper-making firm left him little leasure for other pursuits. But archaeology provided him with his main intellectual interest outside his business. He was a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries and of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. His major contribution to research was his sponsorship of the excavation of the Palace of the Byzantine Emperors at Constantinople, which produced mosaics of outstanding beauty. He edited the princely publication of the report of these excavations, and in recent years sponsored renewed work on the site.

His benefactions to archaeology were numerous. He established the Russell Trust in memory of his son, killed in the war, and from it many grants were made to excavations. It is in this connection that those connected with Palestinian archaeology will remember him with especial gratitude, as through his agency the Russell Trust was a major contributor to the excavations at Jericho.

K.M.K.

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